STORY OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

BY COL. WINFIELD JONES

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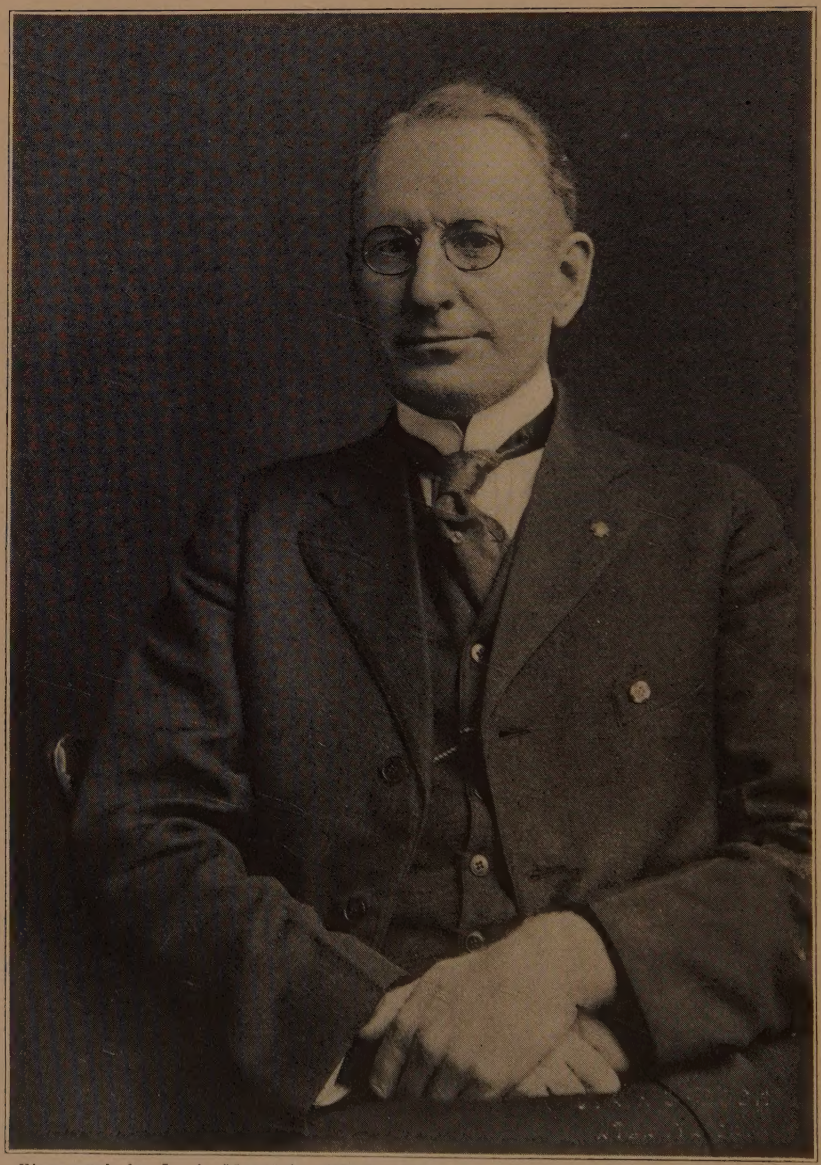

Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

COL. WILLIAM JOSEPH SIMMONS

Imperial Wizard, Knights of the Ku Klux Klan
The Founder of the New Klan

STORY OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

By COL. WINFIELD JONES
Of the Washington Corps of Correspondents

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The author of the story of the Ku Klux Klan is one of the ablest and most experienced of the Washington journalists. He conducted an extensive investigation of the Klan in the headquarters at Atlanta, Georgia, in Washington, and elsewhere throughout the country, and made a thorough probe of its entire organization. His story is eminently fair, and describes only facts concerning the Ku Klux Klan, past and present.

The old Ku Klux Klan after the Civil War played a prominent part in Reconstruction days, one of the most important periods in the history of the United States. These times are described from an historical standpoint, and make an interesting story of the efforts made in the South to recover political liberties that had been lost by the collapse of the Confederacy. Every important fact concerning the present Klan is described in this book.

The story is not in any sense an "exposé" of the Ku Klux Klan, nor is it a defense, but an accurate description of this national organization, which is reported to be increasing its membership at the rate of more than 1,000 a day.

Colonel Jones is not a member of the Ku Klux Klan and was not born in the South, so that he made his investigation without any prejudice one way or the other, and solely from the viewpoint of the trained and impartial writer, bent on getting all the facts concerning the Klan, and writing the story in an accurate and interesting manner.

PREFACE

When I began to prepare to write the story of the Ku Klux Klan I knew nothing of the organization except what I had read in the newspapers, and I had not been interested in the subject. The task undertaken, however, I determined to get as many facts as possible about the Ku Klux Klan of the present and the past, and to write a concise, accurate history of the organization, new and old, without fear or favor, so that the truth could be laid before the public from an impartial standpoint. I had no interest in the subject other than to write facts. Therefore I first secured permission from Col. William Joseph Simmons, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, at the organization's headquarters in Atlanta, to be given access to all the Klan's records, rituals, secret work, history, correspondence, books, accounts, and historical documents, and in fact everything pertaining to the organization. This permission was obtained with great difficulty and only after repeated efforts, for the Imperial Wizard was reluctant to allow anyone to investigate the organization at headquarters, though Colonel Simmons and his associates had nothing to conceal concerning the operations of the Klan.

I spent considerable time in the Imperial Palace in Atlanta, and was given access to everything in that building. I feel sure that all the affairs of the organization were shown and that nothing was concealed. Once I had gained the confidence of the Imperial Wizard and the high officials they frankly and sincerely laid everything before me concerning the Order.

After I had secured everything at headquarters of the Klan and had made a thorough and painstaking investigation at this source, I ransacked the Congressional Library and other libraries for everything that had been printed concerning the old Ku Klux Klan, that originated soon after the Civil War. In this search I secured a large amount of extremely interesting information concerning reconstruction days, including many original documents and letters describing episodes and occurrences of those stirring times when the "white horsemen" galloped over the South in their mission to restore the political and social rule of the Caucasian.

I also attended all the sessions of the Congressional investigation in Washington, securing a copy of the testimony, and therefore, when I started to write the story I believed I had obtained most of the available information on the subject.

1. SOUTHERN CONDITIONS AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

After Appomattox, when the immortal Grant said: "Let us have peace," the Confederacy lay prostrate in defeat. President Andrew Johnson, who succeeded the martyred Lincoln, meant well toward the conquered Southern States, but the national legislative policy between 1866 and 1872 did not carry out Johnson's views concerning reconstruction of the South. When the lamented Lincoln fell before the assassin Booth's bullet in Ford's Theater, in the National Capital, he had already planned immediate reconstruction of the Southern States governments, and had planned, according to historians of that period, to readmit the conquered sister states into full fellowship with the victorious northern section. Johnson fully intended to carry out this policy, but became involved in bitter disputes with Congress and the Republican majority in House and Senate, which repudiated the Lincoln policy and decided to deal with the Southern States as conquered provinces and not as states.

Differences between President Johnson and the reconstruction Congress began when the President announced his policy toward the South, which was in practically every particular the Lincoln policy, but leaders of the Republican majority in House and Senate, embittered by the four years of war and the immense losses suffered by the Union armies, thought otherwise. The fight between Congress and President Johnson began when the President vetoed the Freedmen's Bureau Bill in February, 1866. A few months later Congress, in opposition to the administration, passed this bill over Johnson's veto. The Freedmen's Bureau, to be managed by the War Department, gave complete jurisdiction over practically everything pertaining to the recently freed slaves. It provided for the employment of agents in all the southern counties, who might be either from civil life or from the army, and who had all the autocratic powers of military judges. The measure abolished ordinary processes of law, set aside the right of habeas corpus, destroyed the right of trial by jury, as well as the right of appeal from sentences. This law gave the Federal agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, who were soon swarming in every part of the South, more tyrannical and autocratic powers than were ever possessed by any Romanoff tyrant or Roman consul. Under the bill, an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau, backed by Federal bayonets, had for a time practically unlimited power over life and property in any county in the South where he set up his authority.

The Freedmen's Bureau Act was followed by three other measures in

the 1866 Congress, all providing for "more efficient government of the rebel states." All of these measures were passed over President Johnson's veto, and the conflict between the Executive and Congress grew more bitter day by day. The measures divided ten of the Southern States into five military districts, each in charge of an army officer who was endowed with absolute and arbitrary powers such as had hardly existed before in any country. President Johnson bitterly denounced these bills and flayed Congress in his veto messages. Naturally the breach between the President and Congress grew wider.

It cannot be denied that the bestowal of such tyrannical power upon military satraps in the South led to grave abuses in that section. Immense stealings and graft of all kinds, tyrannies, and persecutions of the defeated population occurred which finally culminated in a saturnalia of misgovernment which has hardly been paralleled in history. This condition afterwards was well recognized in the North and by former Union soldiers. Some Republican members of Congress were among the chief opponents of this policy.

Under these laws all men who had served in the Confederate Army, or aided in any way the Confederate States, were disfranchised and could not hold any state or Federal office. This condition continued almost universally in the South until 1872. The result was that the Southern white man had nothing whatever to say concerning his State or the Federal Government. He was governed by a horde of "carpetbaggers" and scalawags of various kinds who invaded the South in large numbers after Appomattox and after the Federal armies were largely disbanded. With the Caucasian race disfranchised, negro rule, led and directed by the white carpetbaggers from the North, followed as a matter of course.

The legislation provided that the five military districts into which the ten Southern States were organized should continue until these States held conventions and adopted new constitutions satisfactory to Congress. It was also required that their legislatures adopt the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and arbitrary rule was to continue until the Fourteenth Amendment had been adopted by three-fourths of the States of the Union.

Under the urging of Senator Charles Sumner, of Massachusetts, the Civil Rights Bill was then passed. This law authorized the Federal courts to compel admission of negroes to all public places, and made mandatory that negroes should serve on juries the same as whites. In 1883 the United States Supreme Court held the Civil Rights Law unconstitutional.

2. REPUBLICANS VINDICTIVE TOWARD SOUTH

Republican members of Congress, who were responsible for the subjection under which the conquered Southern States groaned, set up the contention that conditions in the South required martial law. It is now generally realized in this enlightened age that such a procedure was unwarranted by conditions, and was largely the result of the bitter passions caused by the four years' struggle between the States. The American Constitution provides that a writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended except in cases of rebellion or invasion. Every fair-minded man, after the lapse of the past half century, when the hatreds of the great war have been abated or been stilled, must acknowledge there was no excuse for claiming after the war ended that a state of rebellion existed in the South when the Confederate armies had surrendered and disbanded. Certainly there was no invasion of the South, but the right of habeas corpus was completely nullified by the military agents who governed the South with iron hands.

Most constitutional lawyers will acknowledge now that the reconstruction laws were unconstitutional, as well as wrong and vicious. Their application in the South held back the economic recovery of the Southern States for many years. With the perspective of fifty years behind us we now see that these laws were wrong. Under these statutes practically the entire white population of the South was disfranchised. The former slaves, only a few of whom could read or write, constituted the entire electorate. The carpetbaggers, some of whom were the scum of the earth, led this motley array of negroes and worked their will with them politically, at the same time that they plundered the white population of the South. It was not long before an era of oppression and corruption was in full swing that would have put to shame the most deplorable conditions in the history of any conquered country. So bad was the misgovernment in the South, and so corrupt the conditions prevailing under carpetbag rule, that many of the northern papers of that period printed scathing editorials against the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and the Southern military government.

While the carpetbaggers and rascals of various kinds were misgoverning the South and plundering it, a few good men from the Northern States had immigrated to the South, and these men, many of them former Federal soldiers and officers, unhesitatingly took the

part of the oppressed population. Their voices were continually heard in protest through communications to northern newspapers, concerning the saturnalia of robbery and misgovernment in the Southern States.

Veterans of the Federal armies and the Confederate armies in any Southern community in the United States, who are still alive, will personally corroborate these statements, which do not begin to describe the terrible governmental conditions existing in the South for many years after the end of the Civil War.

In fact, the South was rapidly being reduced to a state of complete ruin by misgovernment of the carpetbaggers and their ignorant negro followers. The freed slaves, as a class, were good people. They had been, except in few cases, well treated and well taken care of by their owners, but in the mass they were illiterate, ignorant, and superstitious, with a leavening of viciousness. They were as putty in the hands of their white leaders. It followed that the government of the Southern States, under such conditions, was undoubtedly one of the worst ever experienced in the history of the world.

In every Southern State conditions were practically the same, but a few illustrations will suffice to give an idea of the misgovernment.

In South Carolina the land taxes in 1860 amounted to about $400,000. In 1871 they amounted to $2,000,000. The taxable values in that period shrank from $490,000,000 to $184,000,000. The taxes could not be paid. Lands were forfeited and either became waste places in enormous areas, or were handed over to the negroes. The state debt increased from $1,000,000 in 1867 to more than $30,000,000 in 1872.

In Mississippi nearly 7,000,000 acres of land were forfeited by the owners because the state taxes in 1874 had increased fourteenfold.

In a few years the public debt of Louisiana increased from approximately $6,000,000 to $50,000,000. The conditions that existed in Mississippi, South Carolina, and Louisiana prevailed in the other conquered Southern States.

While state misgovernment was so serious, the public affairs of cities, towns, villages, and counties were even in a worse condition, nearly all of them being bankrupt and owing public debts they could not pay and that were never paid. Many of the illegal debts contracted by states in this period were afterward canceled when the whites ousted carpetbag rule and again secured control of state, county, and municipal governments.

As government conditions, including cities, towns, and villages, were

as bad as possible the people suffered greatly. Freed from the labor of the plantations, hundreds of thousands of negroes left the land and crowded into the cities and towns. They were attracted by the hope of living on the bounty of the Government and securing financial support of the Freedmen's Bureau; but most of all they were drawn to the centers of population by the newly bestowed right of suffrage, and the hope of securing public offices which would make them the political superiors of their former masters.

As an illustration of the type of carpetbag and ignorant legislators during reconstruction days in the South, the South Carolina State Legislature of 1868-1872 contained 155 members. With hardly an exception they were either negroes or the lowest possible type of whites, and included a large number of carpetbaggers.

Twenty-two members could not read or write. Several were able to only write their names, and 41 signed official documents with an X-mark. Ninety-eight of the 155 members were negroes, and of this number 67 paid no taxes. None of the state officers, with the sole exception of the lieutenant governor, paid any taxes.

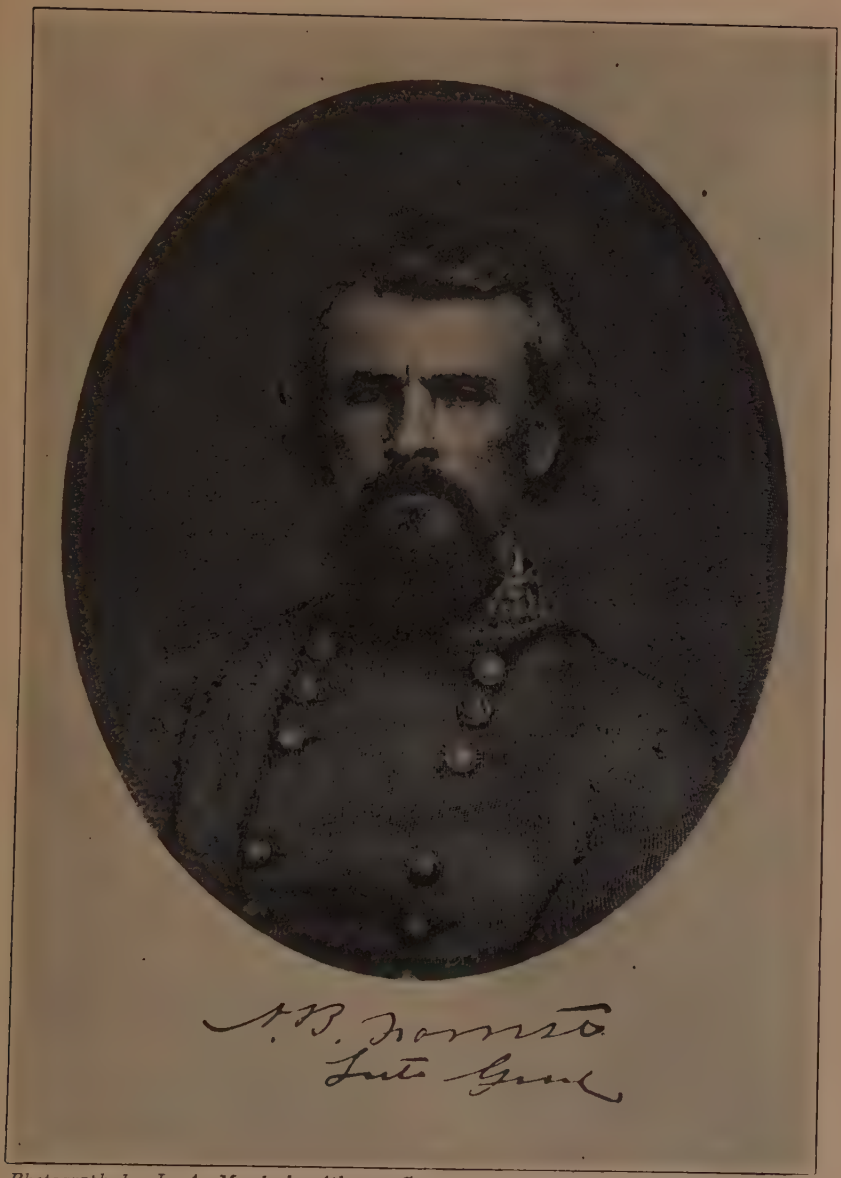
Negro militia companies were organized everywhere, and these were used as an instrument by agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and the military government to terrorize the people. The white men were not allowed to join the militia organizations and, whenever possible, they were deprived of arms. The agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and the military judges were bitterly prejudiced against the white population, favorably inclined to the negro, and as many of these officials were themselves ignorant, vicious, and of the lowest type there was practically no justice obtainable by the white man. Federal troops and the negro militia companies were quartered in the cities and towns and were the chief instruments to enforce the authority of the Freedmen's Bureau agents. White men and women were frequently arrested at the caprice of these agents and imprisoned for long periods without being brought before a court. The military commanders in the five zones sometimes interfered at will with the civil courts, and procedure of civil law was subject at any time to the whim of the Freedmen's Bureau agent or a military commander. In some cities civil officers were arbitrarily removed by military commanders, citizens were forbidden to assemble at any time, and even the highest judicial officers of a State Supreme Court were awed or menaced by armed men. A Louisiana Governor was summarily removed by order of a military commander. Military commanders on more than one occasion resisted court decrees and forced judges to

revoke sentences of their courts. Criminals were forcibly taken from peace officers by negro militia officers and set free. The white man was an object of insult, and women were never safe from the vilest crimes. Newspapers were suppressed and public lectures forbidden. The Federal soldiers, including the negro militia, managed elections and took charge of the ballot boxes. Citizens who had perpetrated no crimes were seized without authority of law and incarcerated in "bull pens" where formerly negro criminals had been confined.

Of course, among the horde of agents of the Freedmen's Bureau and among the military officers were men of honesty and high character, but they were in the hopeless minority, and while in their jurisdictions comparatively good government prevailed and justice was administered fairly, these were isolated instances. Some of these honest and capable officers, though few in numbers, did not fail to vigorously protest against deplorable conditions in the South whenever they returned to the North, and gradually there began to percolate through the North a feeling that all was not well in the South.

Inflamed by the losses and perils of the four-year struggle, irritated by the disorganized condition of the North at the end of the Civil War, and swollen with the elation of victory, the Republican Congress of that period had very little respect for the President or even the Supreme Court of the United States. Between 1864 and 1876 Congress treated the United States Supreme Court with the utmost contempt. When President Johnson attempted to remove Secretary of War Stanton under the authority of the "tenure of office act," Congress contemptuously rejected the proposition and attempted to impeach Mr. Johnson. The fact is, in this period of our history, Congress had usurped the duties of the President, the judicial branches of government, and was unchecked by any authority.

The Constitution did not specify a way to restore government in the Southern States, and Congress believed that in view of this omission the law-making function for the conquered states fell to it. President Johnson believed that he had authority, as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, the Constitution failing to provide a method of restoration by the establishment of military law. The President, therefore, began actual reconstruction, evidently with the best motives, but Congress overthrew all of his plans and began reconstruction legislation of its own. Many Northern members of Congress believed that special and vigorous laws should be passed to govern the South, as they feared that the former slaves could not defend themselves or secure any of their rights against the intelligence and courage of the Southern white men.



Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

GEN. NATHAN BEDFORD FORREST

Celebrated Confederate Cavalry Leader, and the Grand Wizard of the First Ku Klux Klan

Lincoln, in '63, had announced his plan of reconstruction in which he offered pardon to all conquered citizens of the South, with a few exceptions, if they would swear loyalty to the Union and agree to abide by the laws and proclamations respecting slavery. The martyred President hoped that the white population in the South would take the oath, but his assassination completely upset his plans. Had the great President lived there would have been a peaceful and speedy reconstruction of the South. Radical leaders thought President Lincoln too mild toward the conquered South, but from contemporary newspapers it is known that Lincoln's plan met the approval of the North, where there was little, if any, desire to punish the South, particularly among the returned Union soldiers.

During consideration by Congress of reconstruction methods various theories of the status of the conquered states appeared.

The first was that the Southern States only needed to accept the fact of the abolition of slavery, agree to the reestablishment of Federal authority, and resume their former places in the Union.

President Johnson held that when he granted amnesty to the Southern officials and former Confederate commanders the people of the South could reform their state governments and resume their places in the Union. Some of the hot-headed Northern congressmen believed that the rebels had forfeited their constitutional rights and therefore the Federal Government, represented by Congress, had the power to govern the South as it pleased and to dictate the terms on which the defeated and erstwhile rebellious states could be readmitted to the Union. Another theory was that the rebellion had caused the states to cease to exist as states, that they were now merely conquered provinces, and that Congress might do as it would with the people and their territory. Out of these theories grew the Freedmen's Bureau Bill and the other reconstruction acts.

The South lay prostrate and groaned in her chains. Southern white men believed that something had to be done immediately, or all culture would perish south of the Ohio River, to be succeeded by a mongrel civilization which would absorb or extinguish the old Anglo-Saxon race and blood. The conditions were deplorable and the white men were desperate. Armed resistance and another rebellion were out of the question, though writers of that period are practically unanimous in the opinion that if the conditions had continued longer without check guerrilla warfare would have begun everywhere in the South. A remedy against carpetbag domination and negro rule had to be found. It was found by the Southern white man in the secret organization known as the Ku Klux Klan.

3. ORGANIZATION OF THE KU KLUX KLAN

Like many other great organizations, the Ku Klux Klan started with a small beginning.

The original Ku Klux Klan was organized in May, 1866, in the town of Pulaski, Tennessee. Life was dull in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1866. At that time it was a mere village. The writer visited Pulaski, which is now a thriving town of about 3,000 people. Some of the first Ku Kluxers are still alive. In that month and year, six young men, some of whom were former Confederate soldiers, happened to meet together in an office one night, and as time hung heavy on their hands in such a small village as Pulaski, one of these young men (whose name has not been preserved to posterity) suggested that they organize a society for the purpose of mutual entertainment. Old residents of Pulaski differ on whether the meeting was held in the office of a young lawyer of the town, or in the office of a physician over a drug store, or whether it was held in an abandoned brick house. At any rate the young men held the meeting and decided to organize the new society. Probably nothing was further from their thoughts when they met that night than that the organization was destined to grow into what it afterward became.

At this meeting one of the young men suggested they call the new society "Kuklos," from the Greek word "Kuklos," meaning "circle," and another young man suggested an improvement on that name, so that by unanimous consent they decided to call the new organization "Ku Klux." Someone then suggested that the word "Klan" be added in order to make an alliterative name. Stories published later to the effect that the Ku Klux Klan had derived its name from the ancient Scottish clans are erroneous. This idea probably started from the fact that part of the paraphernalia in the ritual work of the Ku Klux Klan includes a fiery cross. The Scottish clans, when they summoned their men to war, sent a messenger around who bore a blazing cross, and from this fact writers concerning the Ku Klux Klan fell into the error that the Klan's fiery cross originated with the Scottish cross.

Another meeting was held by the young men, and the organization was perfected as far as it went then. Various devices were invoked to arouse the curiosity of the public and surround the organization with an atmosphere of mystery. An oath was devised which bound

each member to absolute secrecy regarding anything pertaining to the Klan, and he also swore that he would never tell he was a member of the Ku Klux, nor would he ever disclose the name of any other member.

At the third meeting of the new organization it was decided to have a regalia consisting of a long white robe, with a white mask, and a very tall hat made of white pasteboard with a projecting spike in the crown. The officers of the original organization of the young men's society included a "Grand Cyclops," who was the president or presiding officer; a "Grand Magi," who was a sort of vice-president; a "Grand Turk," who was the marshal or master of ceremonies. The "Grand Exchequer" was the treasurer. There were two Lictors who were the inner and outer guards on the meeting place, which was called the "Den." The meetings there were always held at night in an old brick house, which had been deserted for some years, on the outskirts of Pulaski.

For a long time the only business conducted by the parent Ku Klux Klan was the initiation of new members, and the only purpose of the organization then was to have an enjoyable time and to mystify the inhabitants of Pulaski.

Newspapers in Giles County, in which Pulaski is located, began to discuss the new organization, and within a few months the membership increased. It was not very long before other "Dens" were organized throughout Giles County. Red lights and horseplay used at initiations, which were often conducted in graveyards and deserted houses, soon began to be noticed by the negro population. It was a favorite joke for the white-robed Ku Kluxers to make solitary patrols along the roads of the county, and the ignorant and superstitious negroes, as well as some of the white people, began to discuss the mystery and apparent menace of the white riders. A story got abroad among the ignorant negroes that the Ku Kluxers were the ghosts of Confederate soldiers, and it was not long before the negroes were afraid to venture out of their cabins at night.

It is difficult to imagine the dark superstition and universal ignorance of the negro race in the South during slavery times and for years afterward. The Ku Kluxers seemed to the ignorant negroes to have some connection with their beliefs of various kinds in the powers of Satan, and the tales spread until soon it was difficult to induce any negro to leave his home after dark. The Pulaski Ku Klux and the other organizations throughout Giles County which had sprung from the parent organization had no intention of terrorizing the

negro population, which in Tennessee in that year was comparatively peaceful.

It was not very long until the prime movers in the Ku Klux Klan were aware that their actions and mysterious movements exercised a profound impression on the negro population and "poor white trash." It then occurred to them that a power had been placed in their hands that could be used to keep the recently freed negroes peaceful and law abiding, and they were not slow to take advantage of this fact.

In 1867 the rapidity with which the Ku Klux Klan spread throughout the State of Tennessee was little short of marvelous. Scores of "Dens" were inaugurated and the Order soon numbered many thousands in the old Volunteer State. From Tennessee the movement spread to Mississippi and Alabama with great rapidity. From these states it extended to all of the Southern States and penetrated the South as far as parts of Texas. There were in all probably 4,000 to 5,000 "Dens" in the South, but each "Den" was an individual organization, answerable to itself alone. There was no central organization or federation of the "Dens."

In the early part of 1867 some of the Pulaski leaders sent out a request to all the "Dens" of which they had knowledge to send delegates from each "Den" to a convention to be held in Nashville, Tennessee. These delegates met secretly in Nashville in the spring of 1867 and organized a national organization, which, however, included only the Southern States. It was here that the name of "Invisible Empire" originated, and the "Invisible Empire" meant the whole territory in which the Klans existed. The National Convention divided the "Invisible Empire" into Dominions, which corresponded to Congressional Districts, and each Dominion was divided into Provinces, each Province consisting of a county, in which county or Province were "Dens," or the local Klans.

The National Convention elected a head of the Order who was called the "Grand Wizard." Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, celebrated Confederate cavalry leader, whose home was in Memphis, Tennessee, was the first "Grand Wizard." It is an interesting coincidence that his son, Nathan Bedford Forrest, of Atlanta, Georgia, is the business manager of Lanier University, which is owned by the present Ku Klux Klan. The chief judicial officer of the original Ku Klux Klan was the celebrated Gen. Albert Pike, of Arkansas, father of Scottish Rite Masonry in the United States. Many former Confederate officers of high rank were among its chief officers. Gen. John B. Gordon

of Georgia, Gen. W. J. Hardee of Alabama, Wade Hampton of South Carolina, and A. H. Colquitt of Georgia were among these men.

The ruler of the dominion or congressional district was the "Grand Titan," that of the province or a county was called a "Grand Giant," and the head of a "Den" was denominated a "Grand Cyclops."

It is to be regretted from an historical standpoint that the names of the men who attended the secret convention where the Ku Klux Klan really sprang into being are not obtainable, but even newspapers in Nashville at that time did not know the convention was held, and many of the records of the meeting have disappeared, as diligent search in the headquarters of the Ku Klux Klan in Atlanta and elsewhere failed to disclose these documents.

The National Convention gave a tremendous impetus to the organization, and by the end of 1868 the Klans practically dominated many large portions of the South. Of its total membership we have no knowledge at this time, but it must have been very large, several hundred thousand at least. One writer of the time declares that the Klan numbered at the crest of its power and influence more than 600,000 men, many of whom were former Confederate soldiers and officers. Some of the "Grand Titans" and "Grand Giants" had held high rank in the Confederate army.

There is one striking fact in an investigation of the documents of the old Ku Klux Klan, and that is the oath taken by every Klansman always included an obligation to support the Constitution of the United States, the cause of humanity and justice, and there was a special obligation to protect all widows and orphans.

While the supreme authority of the "Invisible Empire" was vested in the "Grand Wizard," just as it is vested today in the "Imperial Wizard" of the modern Klan, Col. William J. Simmons, and the chief office was held for life, the authority of the "Grand Wizard" was very loosely held, because of the disturbed conditions surrounding communications in the South at that time. The writer has been told by several of the old Ku Kluxers that the "Grand Wizard," the "Grand Titans," and the "Grand Giants" always sent their orders to the "Grand Cyclops" of a "Den" by mounted messenger, and nothing was ever entrusted to the mails. Then, too, owing to the rather loose organization of the "Invisible Empire" and the difficulty of communication except by messenger, the "Grand Cyclops" and commander of a "Den" and his assistants were practically a law unto themselves, and all activities in their neighborhoods or counties usually originated in the "Den."

4. DECLARATION OF FIRST KLANSMEN

While most of the records of the Nashville secret convention are lost, there is in existence a statement of the chief principles of the Order which contains the following:

"We recognize our relation to the United States Government, the supremacy of the Constitution, the Constitutional laws thereof, and the Union of the States thereunder."

The special objects of the Order were set out as follows:

"1. To protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal; to relieve the injured and the oppressed; to succor the suffering and unfortunate, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

"2. To protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and laws passed in conformity thereto, and to protect the states and people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever.

"3. To aid and assist in the execution of all Constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure, and from trial except by their peers in conformity with the laws of the land."

Fleming's "Documentary History of Reconstruction" gives the following declaration of the Nashville convention:

"This organization shall be styled and denominated the Order of the Ku Klux Klan.

"We, the Order of the Ku Klux Klan, reverentially acknowledge the majesty and supremacy of the Divine Being, and recognize the goodness and providence of the same. And we recognize our relation to the United States Government, the supremacy of the Constitution, the Constitutional Laws thereof, and the Union of States thereunder.

"This is an institution of Chivalry, Humanity, Mercy, and Patriotism; embodying in its genius and its principles all that is chivalric in conduct, noble in sentiment, generous in manhood, and patriotic in purpose; its peculiar objects being,

"First: To protect the weak, the innocent, and the defenseless, from the indignities, wrongs, and outrages of the lawless, the violent, and the brutal; to relieve the injured and oppressed; to succor the suffering and unfortunate, and especially the widows and orphans of Confederate soldiers.

"Second: To protect and defend the Constitution of the United

States, and all laws passed in conformity thereto, and to protect the States and the people thereof from all invasion from any source whatever.

"Third: To aid and assist in the execution of all Constitutional laws, and to protect the people from unlawful seizure, and from trial except by their peers in conformity to the laws of the land.

"Section 1. The officers of this Order shall consist of a Grand Wizard of the Empire, and his ten Genii; a Grand Dragon of the Realm, and his eight Hydras; a Grand Titan of the Dominion, and his six Furies; a Grand Giant of the Province, and his four Goblins; a Grand Cyclops of the Den, and his two Night-hawks; a Grand Magi, a Grand Monk, a Grand Scribe, a Grand Exchequer, a Grand Turk, and a Grand Sentinel.

"Section 2. The body politic of this Order shall be known and designated as 'Ghouls.'

"Section 3. The territory embraced within the jurisdiction of this Order shall be coterminous with the States of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Missouri, Kentucky, and Tennessee; all combined constituting the Empire.

"Section 4. The Empire shall be divided into four departments, the first to be styled the Realm, and coterminous with the boundaries of the several states; the second to be styled the Dominion, and to be coterminous with such counties as the Grand Dragons of the several Realms may assign to the charge of the Grand Titan. The third to be styled the Province, and to be coterminous with the several counties; provided, the Grand Titan may, when he deems it necessary, assign two Grand Giants to one Province, prescribing, at the same time, the jurisdiction of each. The fourth department to be styled the Den, and shall embrace such part of a Province as the Grand Giant shall assign to the charge of a Grand Cyclops."

The following questions were asked of candidates for membership:

"1st. Have you ever been rejected, upon application for membership in the Ku Klux Klan, or have you ever been expelled from the same?

"2d. Are you now, or have you ever been, a member of the Radical Republican party, or either of the organizations known as the 'Loyal League' and the 'Grand Army of the Republic'?

"3d. Are you opposed to the principles and policy of the Radical party, and to the Loyal League, and the Grand Army of the Republic, so far as you are informed of the character and purpose of those organizations?

"4th. Did you belong to the Federal army during the late war, and fight against the South during the existence of the same?

"5th. Are you opposed to negro equality, both social and political?

"6th. Are you in favor of a white man's government in this country?

"7th. Are you in favor of Constitutional liberty, and a government of equitable laws instead of a government of violence and oppression?

"8th. Are you in favor of maintaining the Constitutional rights of the South?

"9th. Are you in favor of re-enfranchisement and emancipation of the white men of the South, and the restitution of the Southern people to all their rights, alike proprietary, civil, and political?

"10th. Do you believe in the inalienable right of self-preservation of the people against the exercise of arbitrary and unlicensed power?"

While the candidate was being initiated with impressive rites, in the presence of the flaming cross, and surrounded by the white robed brotherhood of the "Den," the following charge was administered:

"You have been initiated into one of the most important Orders which have ever been established on this continent: an Order which, if its principles are faithfully observed and its objects diligently carried out, is destined to regenerate our unfortunate country and to relieve the White Race from the humiliating condition to which it has lately been reduced in this Republic.

"Our main and fundamental object is the MAINTENANCE OF THE SUPREMACY OF THE WHITE RACE in this Republic. History and physiology teach us that we belong to a race which nature has endowed with an evident superiority over all other races, and that the Maker, in thus elevating us above the common standard of human creation, has intended to give us over inferior races a dominion from which no human laws can permanently derogate. The experience of ages demonstrate that, from the origin of the world, this dominion has always remained in the hands of the Caucasian Race; whilst all the other races have constantly occupied a subordinate and secondary position; a fact which triumphantly confirms this great law of nature—And it is a remarkable fact that as a race of men is more remote from the Caucasian and approaches, nearer to the black African, the more fatally that stamp of inferiority is affixed to its sons, and irrevocably dooms them to eternal imperfectibility and degradation.

"Convinced that we are of these elements of natural ethics, we know, besides, that the government of our Republic was established by white men, for white men alone and that it never was in contemplation of its founders that it should fall into the hands of an in-

Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

GEN. ALBERT PIKE

Father of Scottish Rite Masonry in the United States, and Chief Judicial Officer of the Klan in the Reconstruction Period. His statue stands in Washington, D. C.

ferior and degraded race. We hold, therefore, that any attempt to wrest from the white race the management of its affairs in order to transfer it to the control of the black population, is an invasion of the sacred prerogatives vouchsafed to us by the Constitution, and a violation of the laws established by God himself; that such encroachments are subversive of the established institutions of our Republic, and that no individual of the white race can submit to them without humiliation and shame.

"As an essential condition of success, this Order proscribes absolutely all social equality between the races. If we were to admit persons of African race on the same level with ourselves, a state of personal relations would follow which would unavoidably lead to political equality; for it would be a virtual recognition of status, after which we could not consistently deny them an equal share in the administration of our public affairs. The man who is good enough to be our familiar companion is good enough also to participate in our political government; and if we were to grant the one there could be no good reason for us not to concede the other of these two privileges.

"There is another reason, Brothers, for which we condemn this social equality. Its toleration would soon be a fruitful source of intermarriages between individuals of the two races; and the result of this miscegenation would be gradual amalgamation and the production of a degenerate and bastard offspring, which would soon populate these States with a degraded and ignoble population and unfitted to support a great and powerful country. We must maintain the purity of the white blood, if we would preserve for it that natural superiority with which God has ennobled it.

"To avoid these evils, therefore, we take the obligation TO OBSERVE A MARKED DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO RACES.

"Our statutes make us bound to respect sedulously the rights of the colored inhabitants of this Republic, and in every instance, to give them whatever lawfully belongs to them. It is an act of simple justice not to deny them any of the privileges to which they are legitimately entitled; and we cannot better show the inherent superiority of our race than by dealing with them in that spirit of firmness, liberality and impartiality which characterizes all superior organizations. Besides, it would be ungenerous for us to exercise certain rights, without conceding to them, at the same time, the fullest measure of those which we recognize as theirs; and a fair construction of a white man's duty towards them would be, not only to respect and observe their acknowl-

edged rights, but also to see that these are respected and observed by others.

"From the brief explanation which I have just given you, you must have satisfied yourselves that our Association is not a political party, and has no connection with any of the organized parties of the day. Nor will it lend itself to the personal advancement of individuals, or listen to the cravings of any partisan spirit. It was organized in order to carry out certain great principles, from which it must never swerve by favoring private ambitions and political aspirations. These, as well as all sentiments of private enmity, animosity and other personal feelings, we must leave at the door before we enter this Council. You may meet here, congregated together, men who belong to all the political organizations which now divide, or may divide this country."

No distinction was made in the original Klan concerning Jews and Catholics, as is done by the present Klan. Negroes, of course, were not admitted to membership in the old Klan. Many Jews and Catholics, former Confederate soldiers, belonged to the original Klan.

5. WHY THE FIRST KU KLUX KLAN GREW

One of the causes of the immense growth of the Ku Klux Klan throughout the South was the organization of Union Leagues. Union Leagues were organized everywhere throughout the South and they were composed principally of negroes with a sprinkling of white officials. History is repeating itself according to the ancient dictum, for even now there is in process of organization in the United States, with headquarters in Washington, D. C., the Anti-Ku Klux Klan Society, whose officers are negroes and its chief advisers certain members of Congress from the Northern States, only with this difference—that whereas one of the principal reasons for organization and spread of the Ku Klux Klan after the secret Nashville Convention was the Union Leagues throughout the South, organization of the new Anti-Ku Klux Klan Society followed the recent Congressional investigation of the present Ku Klux Klan.

After 1868 there were rivals of the Ku Klux Klan in the South. These included "Knights of the White Camelia," for a time a powerful federated society having its largest membership in Louisiana. The "Constitutional Union Guards," the "White Brotherhood," the "Council of Safety," the "'76 Association," and the "Pale Faces" were others. After 1868 all these organizations, including the Ku Klux Klan, were societies of armed whites actually struggling for control of government in the South and for white supremacy. Later were organized the "White Line of Mississippi," the "White League" of Louisiana, and the "Rifle Clubs" of South Carolina. These were all manifestations of the Ku Klux spirit which had at its roots the determination of the white man to control government in the South, and to wrest that control from negroes and carpetbaggers.

All these secret societies, but more particularly the Ku Klux Klan, operated, one might say, on a local basis. That is, a Ku Klux "Den" of Pulaski, Tennessee, or one anywhere else, decided upon what it should do with very little reference to the authority of the Grand Wizard. These activities were, however, local, as the men of the local Klan were better able to judge of local affairs. In all other matters the authority of the Grand Wizard was always recognized. Activities of the "Den" varied according to circumstances. Some were purely protective in purpose and existed only to check the excesses of the newly freed blacks, who, suddenly released from slavery,

perpetrated serious crimes and misdemeanors. Those punished or intimidated by the Klansmen often became, if not good citizens, at least quiet negroes. Some of the "Dens" expelled vicious county and town public officials. Some acted as regulators of the morals of the public, others worked to keep the negroes from securing land, and the chief object of other "Dens" was to drive the blacks away from the plantations where they were born, and upon which they had been placed by agents of the Freedmen's Bureau.

It cannot be denied that the work of the Ku Kluxers was both good and bad. They kept the negro quiet, made life and property safe, protected womanhood, stopped incendiarism, and in a great many sections terrorized the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, many of whom would have become, without some sort of check, the most despicable local tyrants. The Klan put to death a few of the worst of the Federal agents and ran others out of the country.

The Ku Klux Klan led the fight in the Southern States for the white population to secure control of government from the blacks and the carpetbaggers. On the other hand, much evil sprang from the activities of the Ku Klux Klan. Lawless men made use of the organization as a cloak to cover their misdeeds of various kinds, and as a vehicle for taking vengeance on private enemies.

The real explanation of these disordered times was that the laws were bad and viciously administered. Therefore the people as a mass were aroused to secure self-protection.

As an illustration of conditions which existed in the old Ku Klux days, and the disorder which was prevalent in practically every community in the South, we find that in Orange County, North Carolina, three persons were hung for burning barns, one was hung for theft, and another for committing rape. Whether or not the local Ku Klux "Den" acted as the instrument of justice was never known, but at that time it was certain that the carpetbag officials were unable or unwilling to control criminals. At that date in North Carolina the carpetbaggers and negroes had three secret organizations of their own—the "Union League," the "Red Strings," and the "Heroes of America."

Conditions such as are described in this story are lamentable but true. In 1870 and 1871 George Sumners, an Englishman, traveled throughout the South. Sumner was an impartial foreign observer of conditions in the South. Here is what he said concerning a general survey that he made of ten of the Southern States:

"The white people in the South at the close of the war were alarmed,

not so much by the threatened confiscation of their property by the Federal Government, as by more present dangers of life and property, virtue and honor, arising from the social anarchy around them. The negroes were disorderly. Many of them would not settle down to labor on any terms, but roamed about with arms in their hands and hunger in their bellies, and the governing power, with the usual blind determination of a victorious party, was thinking only all the while of every device of suffrage and reconstruction by which the 'freedmen' might be strengthened and made, under Northern dictation, the ruling power in the country. Agitators of the loosest fiber came down among the towns and plantations, and organizing a Union League, held midnight meetings with the negroes in the woods, and went about uttering sentiments which, to say the least, in all circumstances were anti-social and destructive. Crimes and outrages increased. The law, which must be always more or less weak in thinly populated countries, was all but powerless, and the new governments in the South were unable to repress disorders or to spread a general sense of security throughout the community. A real terror reigned for a time among the white people, and in this situation the Ku Klux started into being. It was one of those secret organizations which spring up in disordered states of society, when the bonds of law and government are all but dissolved, and when no confidence is felt in the regular administration of justice. But the power with which the Ku Klux moved in many parts of the South, the knowledge it displayed of all that was going on, the fidelity with which its secret was kept, and the complacency with which it was regarded by the general community, gave this mysterious body a prominence and importance seldom attained by such illegal and deplorable associations. Nearly every respectable man in the Southern States was not only disfranchised, but under fear of arrest or confiscation; the old foundations of authority were utterly razed before any new ones had yet been laid, and in the dark and benighted interval the remains of the Confederate armies—swept, after a long and heroic day of fair fight, from the field—flitted before the eyes of the people in this weird and midnight shape of a 'Ku Klux Klan.' "

6. WORK OF THE FIRST KU KLUX KLAN

An air of mystery and secrecy always surrounded the operations of a local "Den" of the Ku Klux Klan. No person not a member of the "Den" ever knew when the "Den" met, and in some "Dens" the members did not know each other. Only the "Grand Cyclops" and his assistants had the membership roll, and knew by name and usually by sight the whole local membership.

Fair-minded investigators agree that in reconstruction days the Ku Klux Klan performed many acts of violence and intimidation, but in a search of the old records and newspapers of those times it has been impossible to find any instance where the Ku Klux Klan, regularly organized as a local "Den," maltreated or molested in any way peaceful and quiet citizens, either white or black. The activities of the white-clad riders were invariably directed against bad white men and disorderly negroes. In a large majority of cases the work of the Klan did not involve personal violence, and in most instances the mere knowledge of the fact that the Ku Kluxers were organized in any neighborhood was sufficient to make that section law abiding, quiet, and orderly.

Often written warnings were sent to objectionable men among the white and black population, and these communications usually were pinned at night upon the doors of the houses of those who were warned. A rude scrawl, decorated with skull and cross bones, and signed Ku Klux Klan, was usually sufficient to cause the objectionable white or black to speedily mend his ways. If he persisted in being obnoxious to the neighborhood, a solitary Ku Kluxer, robed in white, would rap at his door at night and personally serve notice on him that if he persisted in his evil ways the Klan would take strong measures. Only a few acts of violence were perpetrated in places where the local "Dens" were well organized, and any visitations from the Klan which involved bodily punishment were nearly always, it must be acknowledged, deserved by the victim, provided the local law had ignored his misdeeds. The times were extraordinarily disorderly, and while the Ku Klux Klan operated in defiance of organized law, the organized law itself, in many sections, was powerless or ineffective. Under such conditions it was natural that some force for law and order, such as the Ku Klux Klan, existed.

In many instances where Union Leagues held meetings at night,

or where unruly or disorderly negroes gathered in considerable numbers, the white-clad horsemen silently appeared on the roads leading to the meeting places, and usually this warning was sufficient without any act of violence.

The superstitious or criminally inclined negroes and whites were watched closely everywhere, and sometimes a "Den" would divide itself into squads and ride all night, appearing in widely separate sections of the country, where their mere appearance was sufficient to intimidate the unruly whites and the superstitious negroes. It was a favorite warning of the Ku Kluxers to have one of their number appear at the cabin of a marked negro at night and ask for a drink of water. The Klansman would apparently drink a whole bucket of water, the fluid being contained in some receptacle, rubber bag or canteen, concealed on his person, and after the enormous draft had been swallowed, he would remark to the already frightened negro that it was the first drink he had received since he had been killed at the Battle of Shiloh. People who have spent any time in the South, even in these times, can readily understand how the extremely superstitious negro could be frightened, no matter how unreasonable this incident would seem.

In other cases, where warnings were not sufficient to curb undesirable characters, particularly drunkards, disorderly persons, and horse and cattle thieves, many of them whites, more strenuous methods were adopted. The victim would be seized at night and taken to the woods or a nearby corn field and soundly beaten. He would then be released with the injunction to "go and sin no more," and usually one visitation of this kind was sufficient to accomplish the purpose sought. Where more serious crimes were committed, such as murder, robbery, or rape, the culprit was taken at night and hung to a tree on the public highway, or if not executed in this manner he was shot.

In all the history of the operation of the Ku Klux Klan in the South there is not one recorded instance, as far as the writer can find, where any woman, white or black, was molested by the Klansmen.

Occasionally it occurred that the carpetbag officials of a county or an agent of the Freedmen's Bureau were obnoxious to the population. The Klan would serve notice to depart from the neighborhood, and in most instances these men left between suns. If they did not heed the warnings they were seized and thrashed, and, in some isolated cases, hung or shot.

On more than one occasion the carpetbag officials, backed by the bayonets of the negro militia, refused to heed the warnings, and a

pitched battle, usually at night, would occur, in which the Ku Kluxers nearly always came off victorious. Many were killed or wounded on both sides in these sanguinary affrays.

The Klan paid particular attention to righting wrongs of widows and orphans. Any person who oppressed the defenseless was certain to receive a warning from the Klan, and unless he speedily corrected his ways a visitation of the night riders would occur which gave him considerable bodily pain and, in extreme cases, cost his life.

The Klan also marked with its all-seeing eye persons who endeavored to incite the blacks against the whites, and also those who advocated social equality between the races. These persons were warned to leave the neighborhood, and if they did not leave they suffered serious consequences. Usually one warning was enough, and the person who had incurred the displeasure of the Klan was only too glad to flee.

The Klansmen always organized on a military or a semimilitary basis, and included in their organization many of the men who had served in the cavalry of the Confederate Army. They had proved themselves formidable foes on many battlefields. All were expert riders and good shots. Their weapons were usually the old style cap and ball Colt six-shooter, which was such an effective weapon in the hands of the Confederate and Union cavalry.

On rare occasions the Ku Kluxers would invade the quarters of an obnoxious carpetbag county judge or prosecuting attorney and shoot him offhand, two or three members of the "Den" acting as executioners.

Any public official who used his office to oppress a citizen in any way was speedily made aware of the fact that the Klan had its eye on him. The local "Dens," while themselves operating in defiance of all law, exercised a salutary effect in preserving law and order during reconstruction.

Encounters often reaching the magnitude of small pitched battles occasionally occurred between the negro militia and the Klansmen. When this happened victory nearly always perched upon the standard of the "Flaming Cross."

The Klan, too, made its force felt in another way, which was almost as effective as its violent methods. The carpetbaggers, negro officers, and other persons who had incurred the dislike of the Southern population, were rigidly ostracized. They were ignored in all the walks of life, and in churches, schools and public meetings, as well as in all business matters, an effective personal boycott was established against them. With this in operation it was not very long before

many of the carpetbag officers thought the county too unpleasant or unhealthy for them, and they migrated back to the North from whence they had come. The consequence of this policy was that many of the invaders from the North were also forced to associate only with the negroes, and few of them could stand treatment of that kind long. The policy of ostracizing obnoxious officials and others proved as effective in causing them to seek new pastures as the more violent operations of the Klansmen.

Because the membership and operations of the Klan were invariably held in secret, it was often put in a position where it could not defend itself against accusations which were made against it. Many crimes and misdemeanors were perpetrated in the South in these times by others than Klansmen, who used the Order to cover their personal misdeeds. Then, too, as in every organization, bad men gained admission to the "Dens," and some of them used their membership in the Order to satisfy private hatreds and grudges on their neighbors.

7. A REAL INVISIBLE EMPIRE

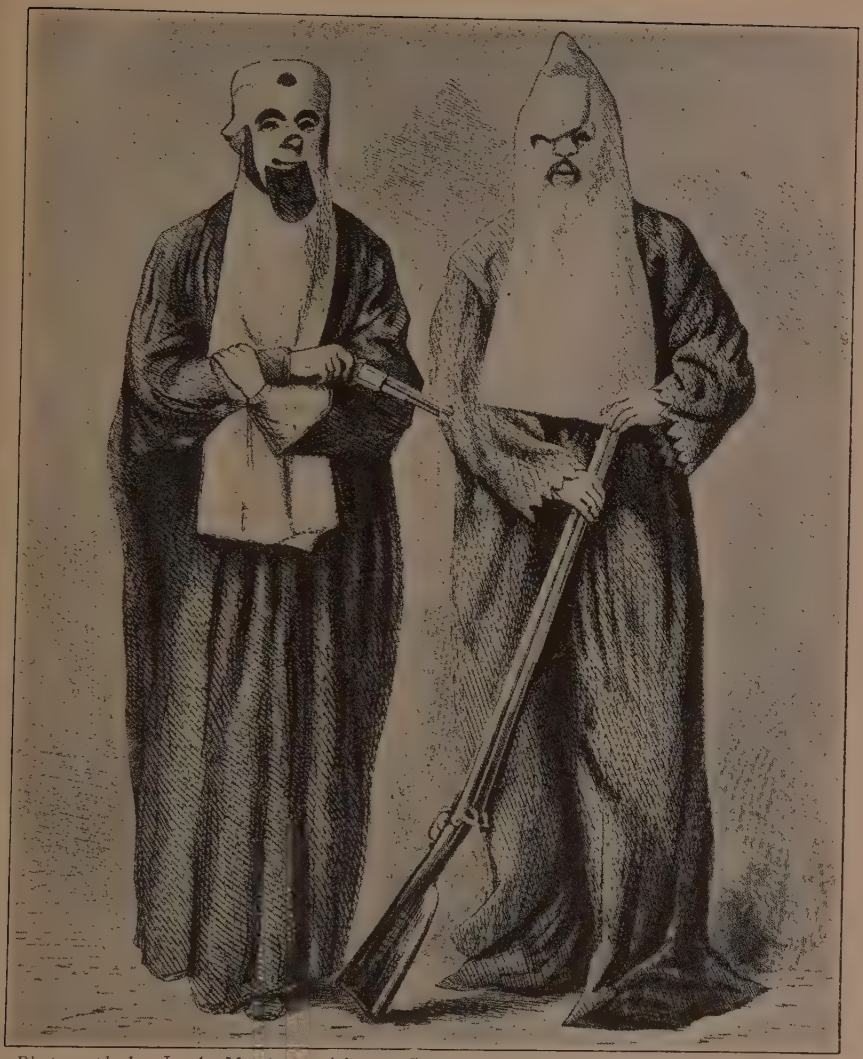
We have seen in the new Ku Klux Klan a parallel to these conditions, in that various disorders which have occurred, particularly in Texas, were traced by the Atlanta Klan Headquarters to men who had no official connection with the local Klan. Wherever this happened the Imperial Wizard, according to evidence obtained at Atlanta headquarters, invariably endeavored to assist the local officers in prosecuting the guilty. In all great organizations undesirable members often secure admittance, even in the churches and fraternal orders. This fact is well known to everybody who belongs to a fraternal order or a church. The Klan in the old days, as well as in present times, has often been blamed for crimes and misdemeanors with which it had no connection whatever.

"The Invisible Empire" was well named, for it was really an invisible empire. While its work was crude and often violent, it exercised a potent influence in recovering white supremacy in the South, and was undoubtedly the chief factor in the political reconstruction of the South which resulted in the white people regaining control of their governments. The state and county governments were in the hands of war governors and other officials, appointed from Washington, as well as agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the military commanders, were all hostile to the Klan.

Repeatedly, in nearly every section where a "Den" existed, the constituted authorities made desperate efforts to obtain a list of the members of the Klan and to break up the local "Den." For a former Confederate soldier to be found with a Klan uniform on his premises was always followed by immediate arrest and imprisonment, and in some cases the discovery of the white regalia resulted in a summary execution.

But the Klan was so thoroughly organized everywhere and so bound together by mutual interests that there is not known a single instance in reconstruction times where a military commander was able to discover any of the secrets of the Klan or cause disbandment of a "Den."

Klansmen practiced absolute loyalty to their "Grand Cyclops," and "Den" members maintained the secrecy and the cardinal principles upon which the Order was founded. Usually the "Grand Cyclops" was the most prominent citizen in his community and a man of standing,



Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

CLANSMEN OF RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

influence, and good character. His assistants were nearly always of the same type, and these level-headed men were dominated only with the purpose to prevent misgovernment and to punish the guilty in their neighborhood. This was the general policy throughout all their local "Dens." There were, however, instances of abuse of the power possessed by a "Den."

A local "Den" never had a regular meeting place. This was for the purpose of securing greater secrecy. The Klan nearly always met at night, when there was moonlight, and usually in woodland or abandoned farming land, where it was unlikely anyone would discover the masked riders at assembly. Every member of the Klan was obligated to hasten to the meeting place when summoned. The policy that was always followed in regard to persons who had to be corrected in the neighborhood was to consider their case at the Klan's meeting, and it was the invariable practice to first serve warning on the obnoxious one. If he did not speedily reform, another meeting of the Klan decided on his punishment. Notices were prepared in an illiterate manner so as to mystify the recipient and better preserve the secrecy. Such warnings were always posted at night. From a study of reconstruction it is evident that the Klan's secret methods certainly subdued or intimidated the negro and bad white men, and caused the white people to feel that an invisible power existed for their protection, under which they felt secure, much more so than they regarded the local laws and the carpetbag officers as means of protection to life and property.

Occasionally it happened that the "Grand Cyclops" of a Klan was an incapable person, and under his leadership the Klan sometimes committed indiscretions in direct contradiction to its principles. Sometimes it occurred that former Confederate soldiers, young men of an adventurous disposition, made up the membership of a Klan, and an organization of that kind also sometimes deviated from the purpose for which it was organized. Law-abiding and honest men who found themselves in such "Dens" took the first opportunity to withdraw. Many men in these circumstances were glad to renounce their membership without appearing to be traitors to the oath they had taken.

The Klan also played an important part in politics, and in neighborhoods where a "Den" was strongly organized and numerous in membership the members intimidated the negroes and kept them from the polls in elections. Often men in large numbers, who were thought to be Klansmen, attended the polls, and, heavily armed, by a threatening attitude prevented the negroes from electing their candidate. They

were thus able to convince the negro that it was not wise for the black race to participate actively in political affairs, and this contributed probably more than any other maneuver of the whites in wresting control of their governments from the hands of the carpetbaggers.

It not infrequently happened that the activity of the local "Den" met the approval of the Federal garrisons, and instances are known of former Union soldiers and officers who settled in the South after the end of the war who were members of the Ku Klux Klan, and who were thoroughly in sympathy with the efforts of the white population to establish law and get control of their government. There was hardly ever personal animosity between Union soldiers who settled in the South after the war and the Confederates. Rather a spirit of soldierly comradship existed between the former foes. Few indeed of the carpetbag officials or agents of the Freedmen's Bureau had served in the Union Army.

A strategic policy of the Klan, which proved very effective in preventing Federal army commanders from tracing their movements or gaining information concerning their night riding, was that non-resident "Dens" would carry on operations, the local "Dens" where the action was taken remaining quiescent. A "Den" near the Alabama State line would raid into Mississippi, riding at night perhaps a distance of 25 or 30 miles, visit punishment on a victim marked out by the Mississippi "Den," and by daylight be back over the Alabama line and disbanded at their homes. Under such procedure it was practically impossible for Federal army commanders to gain any information of the activities of the horsemen who rode by night.

Following is an official order of the Pulaski "Den," published in 1869. It a type of similar orders and Klan proclamation used throughout the South:

"Headquarters Realm No. 1,
Dreadful Era, Black Epoch,
Dreadful Hour.

"General Order No. 1,

"Whereas, information of an authentic character has reached these headquarters that the blacks in the counties of Marshall, Maury, Giles, and Lawrence are organized into military companies, with the avowed purpose to make war upon and exterminate the Ku Klux Klan, said blacks are hereby solemnly warned and ordered to desist from further action in such organizations, if they exist.

"The Grand Dragon regrets the necessity of such an order. But this Klan shall not be outraged and interfered with by lawless negroes

and meaner white men, who do not and never have understood our purpose.

"In the first place this Klan is not an institution of violence, lawlessness, and cruelty; it is not lawless; it is not aggressive; it is not military; it is not revolutionary.

"It is, essentially, originally, and inherently a protective organization. It proposes to execute law instead of resisting it; and to protect all good men, whether white or black, from the outrages and atrocities of bad men of both colors, who have been for the past three years a terror to society and an injury to us all.

"The blacks seem to be impressed with the belief that this Klan is especially their enemy. We are not the enemy of the blacks, as long as they behave themselves, make no threats upon us, and do not attack or interfere with us.

"But if they make war upon us they must abide the awful retribution that will follow.

"This Klan while in its peaceful movements, and disturbing no one, has been fired into three times. This will not be endured any longer; and if it occurs again, and the parties be discovered, a remorseless vengeance will be wrecked upon them.

"We reiterate that we are for peace and law and order. No man, white or black, shall be molested for his political sentiments.

"Outrages have been perpetrated by irresponsible parties in the name of this Klan. Should such parties be apprehended, they will be dealt with in a manner to insure us future exemption from such imposition. These imposters have, in some instances, whipped negroes. This is wrong! It is denounced by this Klan, as it must be by all good and humane men."

8. DISBANDMENT OF THE KLAN

The activities of the Ku Klux Klan aroused great hostility among the war governors, carpetbag officials, agents of the Freedmen's Bureau, and the Federal military commanders.

The first legislative action by a Southern State to curb the activity of the Klan was begun in 1868. In September of that year Governor Brownlow, familiarly known as "Parson" Brownlow, governor of Tennessee, called the State Legislature in session and had an act passed placing a rigid ban on the Klan. This act provided that any person who had any connection with the Klan was to be fined not less than $500 and imprisoned in the penitentiary for not less than five years. To give aid or comfort, or to shelter or feed any Klu Kluxer subjected any person to the same penalty. In an endeavor to make the statute effective, informers were to receive, where a conviction occurred, half of the $500 fine. This law also provided that any citizen had authority to summarily arrest a Klansman anywhere within the bounds of the state without process of law, and it even went so far as to give authority to any citizen to arrest a person under suspicion of being a Klansman. Few arrests were made, and the law was practically a dead letter. The Klan was particularly well organized at that time in Tennessee, having about 40,000 members. Instead of informers prosecuting the Klansmen, the new law at first had the effect of increasing the determination of the white population to assist the Klan more than ever. "Parson" Brownlow made vigorous efforts to enforce the law while he was governor of Tennessee, but was not able to accomplish much toward breaking up the Klan in that state.

Notwithstanding the severe provisions of the law, the Klan operated in Tennessee successfully for nearly a year. It disbanded, not because of the law, but because conditions had changed. The Tennessee law was followed by similar action in other states, notably Alabama and Mississippi. Alabama passed a law in 1868 modeled on the Tennessee law, and the Mississippi Legislature acted in 1870. Two years later the Congressional investigation of the Klan occurred.

In February, 1869, Gen. Nathan Bedford Forrest, the "Grand Wizard" of the organization, issued a proclamation to the members of the "Invisible Empire." This proclamation described the action of the Tennessee Legislature against the Klan, and went on to state

that the Klan had largely accomplished the purpose for which it had been organized, and that robbery, crime, and lawlessness had been suppressed. Present conditions, said the "Grand Wizard," afforded adequate protection to property, life, and society. The South was not longer fearful for lives or property. The "Grand Wizard" declared that he had complete authority to do anything that he wished for the benefit of the Order, and he therefore declared the Klan dissolved and disbanded. The proclamation was addressed to all of the subdivisions of the "Invisible Empire." Some of the Klans obeyed the proclamation and some did not. In Tennessee the "Dens" were soon disbanded because that state had recovered Constitutional government and the reconstruction regime had practically ended.

Though many "Dens" were disbanded in Tennessee in 1869 and 1870, in other states, particularly Mississippi and Alabama, the local Klans continued their operations as late as the fall of 1873.

Nathan Bedford Forrest was undoubtedly the best man in the entire South to serve the organization as the "Grand Wizard." He acquired a reputation as a great strategian, tactician, and hard fighter in the Confederate Army during the Civil War, second to no other general in either Union or Confederate army. A man of dauntless courage, great resourcefulness, and unbounded energy, he was an ideal "Imperial Wizard" of the "Invisible Empire."

By the end of 1873 the local "Dens" as constituted subdivisions of the "Invisible Empire," were practically disbanded throughout the entire South. They ceased their work as organized Klansmen, but the same movement with many of the same men continued at intervals for several years afterward. This was done despite the fact that after 1873 conditions in the South had greatly changed, the white inhabitants had been able to reestablish Constitutional government nearly everywhere, and to take control of their political affairs.

Though the Klansmen as Klansmen were disbanded, other organizations continued under the names of "The White League," the "White Brotherhood," "Pale Faces," "Constitutional Union Guards," and "Knights of the White Camelia." The "Knights of the White Camelia" were strong, particularly in Louisiana, practically the entire Klan membership arraying themselves in the ranks of the new Knights.

In examining old records and documents of the original Ku Klux Klan interesting rituals were discovered. For instance, the initiation oath of the "White Brotherhood" was as follows:

"You solemnly swear in the presence of the Almighty God, that you will never reveal the name of the person who initiated you; and

that you will never reveal what is now about to come to your knowledge; and that you are not now a member of the Red String Order, Union League, Heroes of America, Grand Army of the Republic, or any other organization whose aim and intention is to destroy the rights of the South, or of the States, or of the people, or to elevate the negro to political equality with themselves; and that you are opposed to all such principles; so help you God."

All these organizations gradually went out of existence and by 1880 it is probable there were no Ku Klux "Dens" or units of the other organizations in existence.

The real reason for the gradual disappearance of the Ku Klux Klan and its successors under various names was that the unbearable conditions existing in the Southern States from 1865 to 1873 had disappeared. The Klan and its successors vanished with these conditions.

Undoubtedly the flight of the carpetbaggers, withdrawal of the Freedmen's Bureau agents and military commanders, and the substitution of Constitutional state government for military rule were the real factors which abolished the Ku Klux Klan and its successors. Had reconstruction conditions in the South continued the Klan would have existed coincident with these conditions.

Daniel H. Chamberlain, Reconstruction governor of South Carolina, said concerning the Southern white man of his day:

"I consider him a distinct and really noble growth of our American soil. For if fortitude under good and under evil fortune, if endurance without complaint of what comes in the tide of human affairs, if a grim clinging to ideals once charming, if vigor and resiliency of character and spirit under defeat and poverty and distress, if a steady love of learning and letters when libraries were lost in flames and the wreckage of war, if self-restraint when the long-delayed relief at last came—if, I say, all these qualities are parts of real heroism, if these qualities can vivify and ennoble a man or a people, then our own South may lay claim to an honored place among the differing types of our great common race."

The Ku Klux Klan had accomplished the purpose for which it was organized. However much opinion in the North may differ as to the justification for the organization it is probable that the entire native white population of the South backed the Klan, and all Southern men were either active members of the "Dens," or secret sympathizers.

Methods of reconstruction of the South by the victorious North are now recognized to have been too drastic and in many instances indefensible. Such a policy brought together every element in the

South against the Republican Party, and we have inherited from those days the "Solid South," which exists today, and which sixty years after the Civil War still presents an unbreakable front of political opposition to the Republican Party. The Ku Klux Klan was only a manifestation of the spirit of opposition to reconstruction measures taken by the North, and the masked rider in his white robe was a symbol of the spirit of the South in revolt against carpetbag government and negro misrule. These are facts that cannot be explained away, and today our Northern historians, no matter how unpalatable the facts, recognize that conditions existing in the South in reconstruction times were intolerable.

Time is a great healer of all hatreds and all feuds, and the passing years have done much to nullify the spirit of resentment which stirred the South in reconstruction days, but that section has inherited and still possesses the "Solid South" as a tangible result of reconstruction as administered by the North. The Republican Party, except in rare instances where political landslides have occurred in presidential elections, has never since the Civil War been able to establish itself firmly in the South despite repeated efforts. This is largely the result of the reconstruction policy of the North after the Civil War, and in many sections of the South today the Republican Party is still regarded with a bitter hatred which is hardly understandable by a new generation in the North.

As the South had been defeated on the battlefields and was absolutely bankrupt after Appomattox, the Southern people were not in a position to start another armed rebellion. But the organization of the Ku Klux Klan undoubtedly was a form of rebellion against the tyranny of reconstruction policies.

The American Colonies revolted from Great Britain in 1776, under provocations that were not nearly as irksome and irritating as the conditions which were imposed on the South during reconstruction.

The Ku Klux Klan, therefore, indirectly is partly responsible today for the political situation in the United States. This organization exerted a profound influence on our politics.

All of the similar organizations which succeeded the Ku Klux Klan, while not as effective or as well organized as the parent body, were in some states equally as active.

9. THE FIRST CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION

State, county, and city elections in the South in 1870, when the white population was engaged in taking control of government from the carpetbaggers, and control of State Legislatures was seized by the whites, who ousted negro state senators and representatives, caused much turmoil and excitement south of the Mason and Dixon line. The Ku Klux Klan participated largely in these elections and was a potent factor in overthrowing carpetbag and negro rule. There were many affrays at the polls, and the Ku Kluxers, as well as other Southern men, used the six-shooter and the shotgun as a method of direct persuasion at many election places. The negroes were intimidated and prevented from voting in hundreds of places, and the carpetbagger, if he insisted upon participating in elections, was terrified by open threats of violence, which often culminated in shooting affrays. In this year the whites really regained control of their own political affairs in the South.

Professor Walter Henry Cook, of the Western Reserve University, of Cleveland, Ohio, in his "Secret Political Societies in the South During the Period of Reconstruction," says:

"The Ku Klux accomplished much. From a political viewpoint it secured home rule for several of the Southern States. It ended the disgraceful rule of the carpetbaggers therein, and it helped to re-established honest and efficient governmental institutions. This example was an inspiration which, after 1872, soon led the men of the Southern States, still in radical control, to the glorious victory in regaining self-government.

"From an economical standpoint, the negroes were frightened into going to work and were prevented to a large extent from breaking labor contracts. These were important services in the rehabilitation of the South.

"From a social standpoint, the Klan protected property, protected life, and brought order out of chaos."

Woodrow Wilson, War President of the United States, in his "History of the American People," says:

"Adventurers swarmed out of the North, as much the enemies of one race as of the other, to cozen, beguile and use the negroes. The white men were aroused by a mere instinct of self-preservation until

at last there sprang into existence a great Ku Klux Klan, a veritable Empire of the South, to protect the Southern country."

Many accounts of the election disorders were published in the Northern newspapers, and much excitement and resentment over the situation existed in the North. Northern newspapers of that period bitterly denounced the Southern people and their election methods. Finally Congress, responsive to the agitation and anti-Klan propaganda in the North, which was directed more at the Ku Klux Klan than at the Southern people as a people, on April 20, 1871, passed the Ku Klux Act. Briefly described, this law authorized the President to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in order to effectively deal with the Ku Klux Klan and the other brotherhoods, which were termed "conspiracies," and it enlarged the powers of the Federal courts. A congressional committee was appointed to investigate "All affairs in the late insurrectionary states." Subcommittees of this committee visited the South and accumulated a great amount of evidence which fills 13 volumes, copies of which repose on dust-covered shelves in the Congressional Library. The investigation had important results in two ways. From it the Ku Klux Klan was brought to realize the danger to their Order and similar organizations by interference of Congressional committees instigated in the North. The investigation convinced Ku Klux members who had determined upon continuing the Klan organization that it would be best to dissolve the Klan, and those Southern white men who had advocated disbanding the Klans were encouraged by the Congressional committee. The result was that the remaining Klan organizations in nearly every section were dissolved.

The Ku Klux Klan had officially ceased to exist, previous to the congressional investigation, however, by proclamation of the "Imperial Wizard," General Forrest. The imperial edict was issued in March, 1869, when the Klan was dissolved.

Prior to the passage of the Ku Klux Act, Congress, spurred on by the activities of the Ku Klux Klan, and encouraged by the clamor in the North against the Klan, passed on May 31, 1870, the "Enforcement Act." This was planned to protect the rights of citizens to vote in all elections "without distinction of color or race." The act conferred upon United States courts the authority to punish persons going in disguise upon highways, or who operated disguised for the purpose of intimidating or preventing a citizen exercising his electoral rights. The old "Civil Rights Act" of 1866 was incorporated in the new enforcement act, and the principal provision of the 1866 law

was to be enforced by the Federal courts. In 1871 Congress passed a supplementary Enforcement Act which strengthened the Enforcement Act of May 31, 1870. President Grant called the attention of Congress to the disorderly conditions at elections in the South, and the Ku Klux Act was then passed. The crux of the Ku Klux Act was that where unlawful conspiracies, such as the Ku Klux Klan was considered to be by the Republican majority in Congress and the Grant Administration, existed, the writ of habeas corpus could be suspended by the President and he could use the military and naval forces of the United States to enforce the act. The Ku Klux Act was in fact a bestowal upon the chief magistrate of arbitrary power of the army and navy to put down disorders in the South. It was, of course, aimed principally at the Ku Klux Klan. The enforcement of this legislation, where Federal troops were employed at the polls in the South, almost caused another armed insurrection and led to continued agitation and acts of violence between Southern men and Federal soldiers.

Enforcement of the Ku Klux Act and the Enforcement Act caused more disorders than before, and the legislation did not result in the suppression of the Ku Klux and similar orders because the Ku Klux as an organization had already ceased to exist in 1869 by the edict of the "Grand Wizard." The law in some sections brought a veritable reign of terror. Prominent citizens who were under suspicion of being Ku Kluxers or sympathizers of the organization were often seized arbitrarily by orders of military commanders and thown into jail, where they remained without trial, and where they were kept at the whim of the Federal authorities.

In 1883 the United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional interference by Congress with elections in the South. The damage, however, had already been done, and the effect of the law, which the Southern people believed oppressed them politically and socially, only had the effect of rendering more stubborn the resistance to Federal authority and the soldiers by the Southern white man. It further consolidated and strengthened the "Solid South" as a political entity.

Impartial historians are now agreed that it was a mistake on the part of Congress to attempt to coerce the South, and it was also impolitic for any power to attempt to cause the Anglo-Saxon race in the South to become submerged under a black political wave. The real roots of the Ku Klux Klan can be traced back to those qualities of the Anglo-Saxon race, existing both in the North and the South, which forbade amalgamation of the white blood with an inferior

Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

THE MEETING ON STONE MOUNTAIN, GA., WHERE THE NEW KLAN WAS ORGANIZED.

race, and the possession of a spirit which was determined to be dominant in government at all hazards. Had conditions been reversed the Northern people undoubtedly would have acted exactly as did the Southerners.

In 1872 Congress passed an act restoring the right to vote and to hold office by the former Confederates, and it was not long before the able white leaders in the South had taken direction of all political affairs in that part of the country. The disorderly conditions gradually disappeared, Federal troops were withdrawn, and the South really began her political recovery. The era of reconstruction ended.

Sentiment in Congress and the North against the Ku Klux Klan and the terrible political and social conditions which prevailed in the South prior to 1870 was not all one way, and opinion as to these conditions and concerning the Ku Klux Klan was divided in the North. This is shown by the fact that the Congressional Committee which investigated the Ku Klux Klan presented majority and minority reports. The majority reports set forth that a Southern conspiracy of a political nature existed against constitutional law and the negro race. The minority report stated that misgovernment and exploitation of the South by reconstruction officials had provoked the natural resentment and resistance of the people of that section. Thus the carpetbagger and the negro legislature were officially condemned by a congressional committee, though in a minority report.

Before the passage of the Ku Klux Act there had been many stirring debates in Congress concerning Southern conditions. These, carried by the press, served to inform Northern people as to the real conditions in the South.

After 1872 agitation concerning the Ku Klux practically ended. A better feeling began to prevail in the South. The North, too, realized the disadvantages under which the Southern people had labored, and the two sections once divided by a fratricidal strife began to have a more friendly feeling.

The Spanish-American War, in 1898, recemented both sections and performed the final act of reunion which again welded the Republic into a coherent whole. The son or grandson of the man who wore the Confederate gray, who marched and fought and died by the side of his "bunkie," a grandson or a son of the man who had worn the Union blue, both fighting to free the Cuban, both fighting to strike off the shackles of Spanish tyranny from a helpless people and an oppressed but alien race, did more to unite the North and the

South than all the reconstruction laws passed by Congress and all the agitation since 1865.

In Washington, D. C., there is a Camp of the United Spanish-American War Veterans in which one of the most honored and active members is a Confederate veteran.

The World War further brought the men of the North and the South and their descendants together, and today the United States knows no North and no South, no East and no West. We are all one glorious American family, if we can ever Americanize our big alien population.

10. ORIGIN OF THE NEW KLAN

Every great movement has behind it a man with an idea. The man behind the modern Ku Klux Klan is Col. William Joseph Simmons, of Atlanta, Georgia, "Imperial Wizard" of the organization. The primary idea which animated the founder of the new Klan was patriotism, Americanism, and the supremacy of the Caucasian race.

Colonel Simmons is a remarkable man, mentally and physically. He admirably fills the part of "Imperial Wizard," to which office he has been elected for life by the Knights of the "Invisible Empire." In any sphere of life Colonel Simmons would have been a great success. Impressions of the ruler of the Invisible Empire were gained by the writer from many personal interviews with Colonel Simmons and close association with him for some time in Atlanta, the headquarters of the Klan, and during the congressional investigation in Washington.

He is a remarkable man in many ways. He is 6 feet 2 inches tall, weighs about 220 pounds, is perfectly proportioned, has a most engaging personality, and the whole impression of the man is pleasing. His manner is always cordial and gracious to a stranger, and his assistants and those who know him personally in Atlanta respect and love him. Colonel Simmons has a well-developed sense of humor and likes to tell anecdotes and crack jokes with his friends. In other ages this man undoubtedly would have risen high, for he has an imposing and majestic presence and great ability. Common sense, calm judgment, and a vast experience dominate his every action. There is at all times surrounding him an air of dignity, and he is at the same time affable to all. His disposition is kindly, and he possesses a courageous and charitable heart. Colonel Simmons is a fearless man, and he has never paid attention to the innumerable anonymous communications threatening his life, which the Klan is continually receiving in Atlanta. He goes about Atlanta unattended and unarmed the same as any citizen bent upon his daily business.

Before and after the congressional investigation, however, his host of friends insisted that some precautions be taken to prevent his assassination, which was threatened by numerous signed and unsigned letters. So against his protests guards were provided for his home, and for the Imperial Palace, headquarters for the Klan in Atlanta. These guards were mostly volunteers and members of the Atlanta Klan. They served in relays night and day.

Colonel Simmons sprang from that sturdy Scotch-Irish and English stock that carved out a new government and a new land in the South and the West.

An investigation of the personal history of the man convinces the observer of two things concerning this really remarkable personage:

1st. The many experiences of his life illustrate his untiring energy, indomitable courage, and complete devotion to any work, cause, or ideal in which he may be engaged.

2d. All of his past experiences have been merely a training for his work in establishing the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

Colonel Simmons has been in turn a student, soldier, Methodist minister, and an organizer for fraternal orders. In all of these occupations he was a conspicuous success.

Born on a farm in Alabama, his boyhood was spent in agricultural pursuits. His father was a practicing physician, and the boy desired to follow in his parent's footsteps. The Simmons family was not rich, and the income derived from the father's country practice and from the farm was not sufficient to give the youth the medical education he had determined to secure. He went to a wealthy uncle and asked him to advance the money to pay for a medical education. His uncle informed him, if he would work his way through the first year of a medical college, he, the uncle, would loan him the money necessary to pay for the remaining years of the course.

Young Simmons for two years took a preliminary medical course under a special preceptor of Johns Hopkins University, of Baltimore, Maryland, paying his expenses by work of various kinds outside of study hours. He finished his first two years with credit. When he saw his uncle and told him what he had done, and asked this relative to advance the money for the remainder of his medical course his uncle laughed and informed the crestfallen young student that he was only joking when he promised to loan the money. This crushed Simmons completely for the time being and temporarily destroyed his optimistic and youthful faith in human nature. He could not understand why his own uncle would repudiate a solemn promise. Unable to secure the money to finish his medical education, the aspiring young man did not know what to do.

The war with Spain began, and he determined to adopt a military career. He went to the nearest recruiting station, enlisted in the 1st Alabama Volunteer Infantry, plunging into military life with the same earnestness of purpose which characterized him in all other studies. He had been in camp but a few days when he asked one of his officers

where he could secure a book on military tactics, for he had already determined to quickly master military tactics and devote his life to the Army. Colonel Simmons remembers to this day the reply of the officer when he asked him where he could secure a book on tactics.

The officer said: "What in hell do you want with a book on military tactics?"

The raw recruit insisted that he must get a book on tactics, and he gave the officer all the money he had to buy the book for him. When he secured the textbook he often studied it at night when the regiment was sleeping. The result was that he advanced more rapidly in military knowledge than the other men of his company, and at the end of the war was preparing to remain in the Army. As soon as he was honorably discharged, his discharge reading: "Services honest and faithful," he hastened back to his Alabama home and there took up again the burden of helping support his mother and the other children

The young veteran, back on the farm, was converted at a Methodist camp meeting—"got the old-time religion," as he expresses it. The conversion was thorough, for young Simmons determined to become a minister.

While Colonel Simmons is an intense man of action in many lines of endeavor, he is also a dreamer. All great men in history have been men of action and men of dreams. The "Imperial Wizard" says he does not believe in visions, and yet he relates a mysterious and interesting occurrence which he says he does not understand to this day. He was then a poor minister in Alabama, and one summer night was sitting at his window watching the clouds as they drifted in front of the moon. Suddenly he thought he caught sight of something mysterious and strange in the sky, and as he looked at the clouds a row of horses seemed to be galloping across the horizon. White-robed figures were on the steeds. The clouds seemed to disperse, and a rough outline of the United States appeared as a background. The horses remained, and then one big problem after another of American life moved across the map.

He fell to his knees and offered a prayer to God to help solve the mystery of the apparitions he had seen in the sky. He then registered a vow that a great patriotic fraternal order should be builded as a memorial to the heroes of our nation.

That was the real beginning of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, he says, and set him to dreaming of the time when he would be able to create the present organization of the "Invisible Empire," now existing throughout the United States.

Readers will smile or scoff at this story, but it is a well-known fact that men who have headed great movements have seen visions. Scientists have explained this phenomenon as a psychic manifestation of unconscious desires, but to the dreamer it seems a visible materialization of what is probably a figment of the imagination.

In the ministry Colonel Simmons manifested the same admirable qualities that he had shown all his life. Many circuits where he served the preacher had never received more than $250 salary a year, and the charge had paid nothing toward the appropriation for various church causes. All the circuits that he served immediately took on new life and showed a remarkable growth. Untrained in the arts of elocution when he began to preach, Minister Simmons rapidly developed into one of the most powerful and eloquent orators in the South. His ability as a speaker was acquired by experience only, yet today he is one of the most polished orators in American life, able to hold great meetings spellbound by his eloquence. He is equally at home in pulpit or on platform.

11. COLONEL SIMMONS A FRATERNAL ORGANIZER

Minister Simmons needed money for his family and dependent relations, and he then entered into the fraternal and insurance field. In this work his ability and force soon carried him to the front, and in a short time he was given charge of an entire district in South Georgia for one of the largest fraternal orders. Soon he had built up a fraternal insurance business which gave him an income of $10,000 a year. He was commissioned as a colonel by one of the largest fraternal orders to command and organize five regiments of their uniform rank. That is where he gets his title. At that time he was the youngest man in the order holding such rank.

Soon after he moved to Atlanta, and was standing, one day, on a street corner talking to friends when a large touring automobile skidded around the corner. The back bumper struck him in the spine, and he fell to the pavement completely paralyzed. He was bedridden for six months, and during this time, when he had nothing to do but think, he conceived and worked out the details of the plan of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan; to build the order about which he had dreamed for years. He had been quietly working and thinking out a plan to do this for fifteen years, ever since his vision in the sky, but it was not until he was laid up in bed, seriously injured, that he came to a resolution to launch the big enterprise as soon as he recovered.

The accident ended his career as an influential and powerful factor in the fraternal insurance business, and had it not been for the accident it is probable he would still be one of the chief officers of that fraternity.

In discussing his life with his friends, and when in a reminiscent mood, Colonel Simmons expresses his belief that it may be possible that a higher power took him from the four distinct phases of activity into which he had previously entered, and finally forced him into his present work as head of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, which he considers the greatest movement ever started for the preservation, elevation, and strengthening of the Caucasian race. He was prevented when he had determined to become a great doctor, he was not able to devote his life to the military service of his country, he left a ministerial career of great promise, and when he had achieved large success in his work in the fraternal insurance business he was kept from that career by an accident.

All these experiences in life have made Colonel Simmons a wise and thoughtful man. His habit of mind is extremely calm and deliberate, and hatred and passion never disturb his thoughts. He is a real Christian, and his heart is always responsive to the calls of unfortunate humanity. His experience as a medical student was valuable, his service in the Army during the Spanish-American War taught him discipline, his career in the Methodist Church broadened his mind and made him a great orator, and his work as an organizer of fraternal societies taught him business methods and gave him an insight into the customs of men everywhere. Thus, when he began his organization of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, he was as well qualified for this work as any man in the United States.

Colonel Simmons has been married for many years to an estimable woman who comes from a prominent Southern family. His wife is an invalid. He has one son, sixteen years old, who is a student at the Georgia Polytechnic Institute. This young man resembles his father and is an ardent military student and an officer in the Student Officers' Reserve Corps. He is ambitious for a military career and hopes to become a student at West Point Military Academy.

Colonel Simmons for more than fifteen years had been revolving in his mind the organization of the Ku Klux Klan. He intended to continue not only the visible, physical organization of the Ku Klux Klan, as a memorial, but principally to perpetuate its spiritual purpose, and to make it a national, standard, fraternal order composed of American manhood, who believe in preservation of pure Anglo-Saxon institutions, ideals, and principles. There was also the thought to keep alive the memory of the original Klan, and to collect historical accounts of its work, principles, and institutions. The new invisible empire of the Ku Klux Klan was to be, also, a lasting and living memorial to the old Klansmen. Anybody who knows Colonel Simmons and the high officers of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan who are carrying on the work with him must be convinced that the announced plans of the new Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are founded upon right principles, and that it is a great and patriotic American organization.

Colonel Simmons has always taken great interest in fraternal orders and he is a member in good standing in 15 such organizations, including the Blue Lodge Masons and Knights Templars.

There was no thought in the mind of Colonel Simmons to revive in any way the night-riding, masked operations of the original Ku Klux Klan, for conditions in the South do not justify such an organization today, but the principal thought around which centered the idea of

reestablishing the Ku Klux Klan was its lofty spiritual purpose, to be manifested in the new organization which would constitute a great American patriotic and fraternal order.

In October, 1915, Simmons called together a few friends in Atlanta, Georgia. Among them were three members of the original Klan. Every person with whom Colonel Simmons conferred was enthusiastic for reviving the old Klan, or organizing a new one, and in the same month 34 citizens of Atlanta, many of them the most prominent in Georgia, held a meeting and signed a petition for a charter of the New Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

As the Klan had among its 34 charter members three of the horsemen of the famous old Ku Klux it was declared to be the only legitimate heir of the parent organization of reconstruction days, and therefore possessed the sole rights to all of its regalia, ritual, and symbols. Each year since 1915 the Klan has held an anniversary celebration, on May 6, the date on which the old Klan was founded. This annual celebration takes the form of public parades throughout the South with the Klansmen dressed in the official white costumes.

With the original 34 members, and from this small beginning, the Klan has spread in the last six years until it has branches in nearly every State in the Union, and its membership runs into many thousands.

The following proclamation was issued by Colonel Simmons:

"To all Nations, Peoples, Tribes and Tongues, and to the Lovers of Law and Order, Peace and Justice, of the Whole Earth, Greetings:

"I, and the citizens of the Invisible Empire through me, proclaim to you as follows:

"We, the members of this Order, desiring to promote real patriotism toward our civil government; honorable peace among men and nations; protection for and happiness in the homes of our people; love, real brotherhood, mirth and manhood among ourselves, justice and fraternity among all mankind; and believing we can best accomplish these noble purposes through the channel of a high-class mystic, social, patriotic, benevolent association, having a perfected lodge system, with an exalted ritualistic form of work and an effective form of government, not for selfish profit but for the mutual betterment, benefit and protection of all our oathbound associates, their welfare physically, socially, morally and vocationally, and their loved ones, do proclaim to the whole world that we are dedicated to the sublime and pleasant duty of providing generous aid, tender sympathy and fraternal assistance in the effulgence of the light of life and amid the sable shadows

of death; amid fortune and misfortune, and the exalted privilege of demonstrating the practical utility of the great, yet most neglected, doctrine of the Fatherland of God and Brotherhood of Men as a vital force in the lives and affairs of men.

"In this we invite all men who can qualify to become citizens of the Invisible Empire, to approach the portal of our beneficent domain and join us in our noble work of extending its boundaries; in disseminating the gospel of KLANKRAFT, thereby encouraging, conserving, protecting and making vital the fraternal human relationship in the practice of a wholesome clannishness; to share with us the glory of performing the sacred duty of protecting womanhood; to maintain forever white supremacy in all things; to commemorate the holy and chivalric achievements of our fathers; to safeguard the sacred rights, exalted privileges and distinctive institutions of our civil government; to bless mankind, and to keep eternally ablaze the sacred fire of a fervent devotion to a pure Americanism.

"The Invisible Empire is founded on sterling character, and immutable principles, based upon a most sacred sentiment and cemented by noble purposes; it is promoted by a sincere, unselfish devotion of the souls of many men and is managed and governed by the consecrated intelligence of thoughtful brains. It is the soul of chivalry and virtue's impenetrable shield, the devout impulse of an unconquered race."

Colonel Simmons is now head of the University of America, formerly Lanier University, at Atlanta. This university has been bought by the Ku Klux Klan and is being reorganized. It is not conducted as a Ku Klux Klan university, but as a non-sectarian institution for the youth of the South and the North. The courses are all elective, except Bible study and study of American history and institutions, which are required of all students. Plans are now being made to make this university one of the largest educational institutions in the country, and it probably will have a preparatory school where the poor white boys and girls of the North and South can secure splendid educational privileges free or at cost. Negotiations are under way for additional land in the suburbs of Atlanta, and Colonel Simmons and his associates plan to make the University of America one of the really great educational institutions in the country. The Klan is now raising a $1,000,000 endowment fund. The university was named in honor of the famous southern poet, Sidney Lanier.

12. STATEMENT OF COLONEL SIMMONS

Colonel Simmons made the following statement regarding the Invisible Empire and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan:

"Throughout the annals of the ages in all recorded movements for the betterment of humanity, whether by revolt against tyranny or along more peaceful lines, we see the manifestation of what justly may be termed the 'Ku Klux Spirit'—the spirit that rebels at oppression and even defies law itself when that law, measured by all the standards of wisdom, justice and moderation, is tyrannical and the instrument of despotism. It is the antithesis of tyranny and the foe of despotism.

"From the time the human race was created, running through all the ages and characteristic of all peoples of all lands, the Ku Klux spirit has fostered freedom and fought tyranny to the death because Ku Kluxism is the very 'antithesis of tyranny' and has never in history been the agency of wrong. It has been the one weapon left to the hand of mankind when mightier forces had shackled him or had taken from him his civil or religious liberty. It has been the ceaseless working of this unquenchable and unconquerable spirit, forced as it has been on innumerable occasions to develop its strength and plan its campaign in secret, that has set the heel of the oppressed on the neck of the oppressor in the battle of Right against Might.

"Before the great Persian Empire was created there was an organization formed for the purpose of enforcing justice. It worked secretly, and it was impelled by the intolerable conditions surrounding conduct of the courts to reverse numerous decisions in which there was open and brazen miscarriage of justice. Its emblem was the star and crescent—symbolic of the sovereignty of justice.

"True, this organization did its work in secret and took the law into its own hands (so to speak), but the attitude and purpose of this early order, which was one of the first recorded manifestations of the 'Ku Klux Spirit,' hundreds of years later was indorsed by no less an authority than Thomas Jefferson when he declared:

" 'Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God.'

"And by Patrick Henry, when he shouted in defiance of the tyrannical British parliament:

" 'Give me liberty or give me death.'

"The history of Continental Europe is filled with instances in which men who were oppressed and who saw no relief in sight by open

rebellion because of the superior power of the oppressor, have banded themselves together in secret with an oathbound determination to die if by death alone they could free themselves from the rule of the tyrant. Man of the Anglo-Saxon stock is a sovereign being and he will wear no man's yoke.

"The followers of Calvin and of Luther and of John Knox in Scotland exemplified to a high degree the Ku Klux spirit. Because of the fewness of their numbers and because they faced death or imprisonment if they waged their fight in the open, they carried on their work in secret until they felt the time was opportune to bring the issue to a head.

"The spirit that prompted the followers of Calvin, Luther and Knox was identical with the spirit that actuated our Revolutionary fathers and the men of the South in the Reconstruction period.

"The American colonies rebelled against constituted authority and against the iniquitous tax laws imposed upon them by the mother country because the laws were unjust and therefore tyrannical, and because they saw the rights and liberties for which they had braved the unknown terrors of the sea and the unexplored wilds of the New World, rapidly receding to the vanishing point.

"They fully understood the superior power arrayed against them and they realized that the 'little leaven that leaveneth the whole lump' must be started working before they openly challenged the power of British arms. Thus it came to pass that long before the 'shot heard 'round the world' was fired the mighty force was secretly put in operation that cemented the colonies in their determination of 'liberty or death,' and that made possible the greatest monument of all time to liberty and justice—the Republic of the United States of America.

"In Revolutionary history we have two noteworthy manifestations of the Ku Klux spirit. One was the 'Charleston Tea Party' and the other the 'Boston Tea Party,' which occurred four days after the former. In the first instance the outraged citizens of the Colonies recorded their wrath against the tyrannous taxes of the British Government by boarding with arms in their hands, and sank the tea ships by boring holes in their bottoms.

"In the case of the Boston Tea Party the Colonists disguised themselves as Indians, boarded the British tea ships and dumped their cargoes into the sea.

"The only difference between the members of the Boston Tea Party and the members of the Ku Klux Klan of the Reconstruction period following the Civil War was that the former were disguised as Indians

Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

THE IMPERIAL PALACE, HEADQUARTERS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN, IN ATLANTA, GA.

while the latter disguised themselves with masks and flowing robes. The actuating cause and the spiritual purpose of the men in both instances was the same.

"Thus we come down to that much misunderstood and shamefully slandered organization of the Reconstruction period which manifested on the largest scale of which we have any record the Ku Klux spirit and which made famous the name by which this spirit—the spirit of opposition to tyranny and oppression in any form—has become known.

"When the roar of the guns ceased and the smoke of battle lifted from the South in 1865 it meant the end of the 'War Between the States,' but it marked the beginning of a new battle for the South—a battle for its very existence as a free people, for its sacred civilization and for the exercise of its rights which General Grant had recognized and so frankly admitted at Appomattox and which President Lincoln so emphatically reaffirmed when he declared of the Southern States:

" 'I shall treat them as if they had never been away.'

"Lincoln's intentions toward the South were honest and sincere, because they were in harmony with the fundamental principles of American civilization. The issues which had riven the two sections had been settled by the arbitrament of the sword and out of the fairness and brotherly love of his great heart he found it possible to welcome the men of the South back into the union as brothers whose misunderstandings had been adjusted.

"And the bullet that snuffed the holy light of Lincoln's life struck down the most powerful friend the South and civilization had above the Mason and Dixon line, and made it possible for Stevens and his unscrupulous henchmen of South-haters to attempt to carry out their infamous program of establishing a negro empire in the South, and setting the heel of a brutal and despotic tyranny upon the necks of a helpless, defenseless, but a sovereign people.

"In this connection Thomas Nelson Page says:

" 'The war between the states destroyed the institution of slavery, the dark years of the carpetbagger's domination well-nigh destroyed the South and Anglo-Saxon civilization, for after the sword came the canker worm and the enforcement of despotic intrigue.'

"After the Confederate soldiers had laid down their arms and accepted their paroles in good faith, singly, in squads, many of them on foot, without a dollar in their pockets, they returned to their desolate homes and began anew to rebuild their vanished fortunes.

"In so far as the Confederate soldier was concerned the war was

over; he had fought to the limit of his capacity for the cause he was convinced was right; the issue had been settled by the sword and he had accepted the decree. The reins of government had again been placed in the hands of the best men of the South and the voices of the former army commanders again were heard in the halls of the National Congress. Little attention was paid by them to the mouthings of the 'bloodhounds of hate,' directed by Lust and Greed, who, in peacetime, still refused to leave the track of their infamous conquest for spoils.

"For over a year peace ostensibly was hovering over the still smouldering battlefields of the South, but soon the thunder of the impending storm of Reconstruction was heard in the land. Throughout the North, and especially in New England, meetings were held and from pulpits, rostrums and public halls enemies of the South preached a crusade of extermination against the Southern people.

"If Grant's order to Halleck to 'eat out Virginia clear and clean so that crows flying over it will have, for the balance of the season, to carry their provender with them,' or his order to Sheridan to hang without trial any of Mosby's men who were caught, may be excused on the grounds that they were justified by the exigencies of war, what excuse is to be made for this tirade delivered after the war was over by Wendell Phillips from the pulpit of Henry Ward Beecher's church:

"'I do not believe in battles ending this war. You may plant a fort in every district of the South, you make take possession of her capitals and hold them with your armies, but you have not begun to subdue her people. I know it means something like absolute barbarian conquest, I allow it, but I do not believe there will be any peace until 347,000 men of the South are either hanged or exiled.'

"And this, some time later, from 'Parson' Brownlow at a convention held in New York:

"'If I had the power I would arm every wolf, panther, catamount and bear in the mountains of America, every crocodile in the swamps of Florida, every negro in the South, every devil in hell, clothe them in the uniform of the Federal army and turn them loose on the rebels of the South and exterminate every man, woman and child south of Mason and Dixon's line. I would like to see negro troops, under the command of Butler, crowd every rebel into the Gulf of Mexico and drown them as the devil did the hogs in the Sea of Galilee.'

"In another convention held in Philadelphia 'Parson' Brownlow said:

"'I am one of those who believe the war ended too soon. We have whipped the South, but not enough. The loyal masses constitute

an overwhelming majority of the people of this country and they intend to march again on the South and intend this second war shall be no child's play. The second army will, as they ought to, make the entire South as God found the earth—without form and void.'

"Following Brownlow's speech Governor Yates, of Illinois, rose in his seat and said:

" 'Illinois furnished 250,000 troops to fight the South, and now we are ready to furnish 500,000 more to finish the good work.'

"And who was this Butler that 'Parson' Brownlow wished to command an army of negro troops and drive every former Confederate soldier into the Gulf of Mexico? It was Butler who ordered General Weitzel to compel the negroes of La Fourche Parish, Louisiana, to murder the white people of the parish. In reply to this order General Weitzel wrote:

" 'The idea of my inciting a negro insurrection is heartrending. I will resign my command rather than induce negroes to outrage and murder the helpless whites.'

"Indicating the storm of hate let loose upon the South after the Civil War and for the purpose of disclosing what our histories gloss over—that the people of the South were compelled to fight a second war more terrible than the first to preserve their honor and the land of their birth, the former facts compiled by Lamar Fontaine, C. E., Ph.D., of Lyons, Miss., who lived through that perilous period, are reproduced:

" 'Thus it was that for two years after the close of the great war in every hamlet and convention hall in the North thousands of preachers, orators and teachers dinned into the ears of the listening multitudes their fiendish venom until a wild wave of fanatical, insane New England Puritan hate swept like an East Indian hurricane over the entire North. . . . The Southern members of the National Congress were as impotent to stay the dark whirlwind of Hate as a cork floating upon the crest of a tidal wave. Then a species of negro insanity raged among the negrophiles of the New England states and it too spread like a prairie fire and took possession of the unthinking masses. Books and pamphlets fell from the New England presses like hail from a passing cloud. Men and women, from pulpit and rostrum, advocated the mixing of the negro and the white races and the establishment of a negro republic in the South after its conquered people had first been destroyed and the land rendered, as Parson Brownlow expressed, 'as God found it, without form and void.'

"Judge Salmon P. Chase, one of Lincoln's cabinet, paid a visit to the South after the surrender. Returning home, he said:

" 'I found the whites a worn-out, effete race, without vigor, mental or physical. On the contrary the negroes are alive, alert, full of energy. I predict in 25 years the negroes of the South will be at the head of all affairs, political, religious, the arts and sciences.'

"Henry Ward Beecher asserted:

" 'The negro is superior to the white race. If the latter do not forget their pride of race and color and amalgamate with the purer and richer blood of the blacks they will die out and wither away in unprolific skinniness.'

"The spread of the anti-Southern sentiment throughout the North forced Congress to act and the Reconstruction Act was the result. Southern senators and representatives were sent back to their homes, the entire civil government of the South was disrupted, and the negro was placed in power in every department, state and national. In support of this Reconstruction Act in Congress, James A. Garfield, later elected President of the United States, said:

" 'This act set out by laying hands on all the rebel state governments and taking the very breath of life out of them. In the next place it puts a bayonet at the breast of every rebel in the South. In the next it leaves in the hands of Congress utter and absolute power over the people of the South.' "

13. RECONSTRUCTION A TRAGEDY

"The Reconstruction acts of Congress constitute the most appalling tragedy in human history. Elections in the South were carried at the point of the bayonet, white men of the South were forced away from the polls and negroes and conscienceless carpetbaggers from the North, who had been in the South only a few weeks, were allowed to cast ballots and were elected to office. All in violation of our Constitution and every fundamental principle of Republican government.

"These carpetbaggers and their unscrupulous associates in the North were NOT the valiant soldiers who fought and bled in the battlefields, but, using a modern phrase, they were the cowardly 'slackers' of that time, pie-counter politicians and unreasonable and unreasoning fanatics.

"Constitutional law was stripped by profane hands of her virtuous vestments; ignorance, lust and hate seized the reins of state; the long-established order of society was disrupted by the sudden elevation to power of a grossly inferior race, led by fiends in human form, and the very blood of the Caucasian race was threatened with an everlasting contamination.

"The whole land was fastened in the crushing jaws of a ruthless tyranny enthroned by military despotism; law and order, peace and justice were things of the past and that sacred bulwark of human liberty—the Constitution of the United States of America—was in practice considered a 'mere scrap of paper.' The originators and perpetrators of this, the darkest epoch in the history of the world, were NOT the good people of the North because they were in ignorance of the real facts of what was being done; those responsible for this unparalleled reign of ruthless despotism were less than a dozen unscrupulous politicians, prompted by hate and led on in their infamous purpose by graft and greed.

"The chastity of wife, mother, daughter and sister was imperiled; life and living were made intolerable. In the name of the Law the property of the husband and father was ruthlessly snatched from him without provocation and confiscated and the grim visages of Want, Hunger, Fear and Woe unutterable were visible everywhere.

"The people of the South turned appealingly to the power of their national government, but were spurned away with contempt and scorn.

"But the cry of that defenseless, terrorized and bleeding people,

scorned by their own government to which they had sworn renewed allegiance and by which they had been guaranteed protection, and with the treaty of peace signed by Grant and Lee branded by Stevens, in conduct if not in words, as a 'scrap of paper,' was not to go unanswered.

"The men who for four years had borne upon their bayonets the Ark of the Confederacy through one of the most savage wars in all history, heard and answered the cry, and, as Knights of the Invisible Empire, impelled by an instinct of the race, they leaped into the saddle, consecrated to their task by the touch of the hot tears of defenseless womanhood and borne upon the backs of their faithful steeds, they came—they came, they saw, they conquered!

"From over the mysterious borderland, from the Empire of the Soul, the Ku Klux came. Out of the sable shadows of the darkest night that ever afflicted any people they rode with a determined purpose; pure, as typified by the snowy white of their ghostly garments; hearts loyal as ever pulsated, as typified by the cross on the crimson shield worn upon their manly breasts; and a sacred devotion that laughed at death and faltered not at danger, as typified by the sacrificial cross of the Christ.

"With the fiery cross, symbol of the purest and most loyal patriotism, as their beacon, the Ku Klux rode forth in the cause of humanity, to save the God-given heritage of racial integrity, restore civilization, protect the defenseless, shield that which was sacred, avenge the crimes against the innocent and to restore to a free-born people their sacred birthright created for them by the shed blood of a noble ancestry.

"Through the darkness of Reconstruction's night the Ku Klux rode, dispelled the darkness of that frightful night, and at the dawning of a glorious day they saw the shades of that frightful night receding. Right had been by them established over Might; the voice of music was heard again in the land, their purpose and mission were ended, they laid aside their spotless robes and the noblest order of real chivalry in the great world's history disbanded—the Ku Klux of yesterday rode no more.

"In spite of the noble purpose of the Ku Klux Klan and in spite of the great service it rendered to both the white and the negro races, to North as well as South, yes, to ALL America, no organization in the history of man ever had heaped upon it the abuse and misrepresentation that fell to its lot. Foes of the South and enemies of the Southern people viciously assailed it as a band of murderers who stopped at nothing, and who whipped and terrorized both black and white and

vented its spite and avenged personal wrongs, real or fancied, upon whoever incurred its displeasure.

"No fouler slander ever was perpetrated. Instead of being murderers and cutthroats the members of the Ku Klux Klan were men of the highest type as a body and they were sworn to and stood firmly upon the sacred principles of constitutional law. They worked to safeguard life and property, or what there was left of it; to ameliorate the terrible conditions growing out of the presence of the carpetbaggers from the North and the scalawags from the South, who turned traitor to their own people, and their baneful influence over the negro.

"The Ku Klux of the Reconstruction period was the outgrowth of a dire necessity born of insufferable conditions forced on the Southern people by a group of greedy, conscienceless politicians, and the character of the men who were at its head in the various Southern states is a lasting rebuke to the charge that it was composed of a band of outlaws.

"Contrary to popular opinion the Ku Klux Klan was not sectional except as to territory. Among its members were many men who had fought in the Federal army and who had decided to make their homes in the South after the war. They held no resentment against their Southern brothers, they realized the insanity of attempting to force negro domination upon the South and they cast their lot with their former foes of the battlefield in the movement to restore the South to its rightful place in the nation.

"In addition to these many of the white soldiers of the Federal army of occupation who were actually on duty in the South and who were under orders to kill a member of the Invisible Empire on sight, were members of the Ku Klux Klan. And connected with the Klan work were hundreds of negroes who rendered a service of imperishable value and who suffered torture, and many death, at the hands of the Union League and the carpetbaggers for their unshakable fidelity.

"We have said that the Ku Klux spirit throughout the ages has been the antithesis of tyranny, the foe of despotism, and always has fostered liberty. Why should we call it the Ku Klux spirit rather than by any other name, and why should we feel warranted in the assertion that it is the antithesis of tyranny?

"The answer is found in the fact that men—especially men of the Anglo-Saxon race—have never submitted passively to oppression; his is an unconquered and unconquerable race. No matter how firmly the yoke was fixed about his neck, no matter how sharp was the cut of the lash upon his back, no matter how remote were his chances of

securing his liberty, sooner or later he always has rebelled. Sooner or later his hands were at the throat of the tyrant and even though he failed and death was his portion he has died gladly rather than purchase life at the price of chains and slavery. Tyranny of the most heartless type, despotism of the most devilish nature and to the highest and most powerful degree were established upon the ruined South. Never before was there such conscienceless conduct towards any people. The people of the South were of and belonged to that 'unconquered race.' In the Reconstruction period tyranny reached its greatest height, and to successfully combat it in the interest of the blood-bought human rights of a sovereign people, that spirit which through the ages has always stood—'the antithesis of tyranny'—as at other times, asserted itself as never before. It flamed in human breasts, men united in organized form, an instrument of salvation, and the body, vitalized by this spirit, was called the Ku Klux Klan.

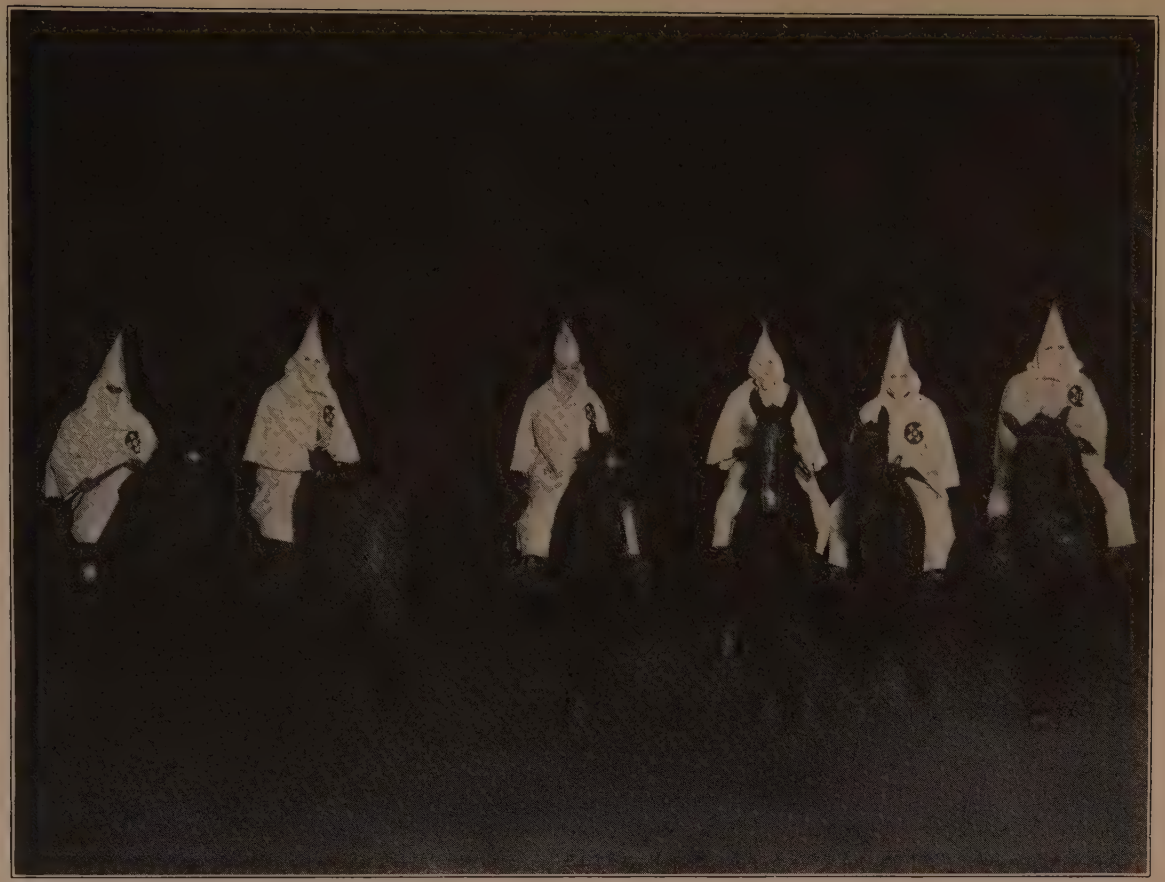
"Wherever and whenever oppression has prevailed that spirit of resentment, of determination to resist until the shackles are broken always has been found. So has it been always, is today and will be forever.

"Sometimes it has smouldered in secret for years and then flashed up at the psychological moment to ignite a world. Call it by whatever name you will, the spirit of rebellion against tyranny—the spirit of the followers of Calvin and Luther and Cromwell, of the Revolutionary fathers, of the Ku Klux of the Reconstruction period—is indestructible, and the man in whose breast that spirit lives will never submit to domination, social, religious or political, by any man or race of men, and will never acquiesce in the rule of injustice or a reign of wrong.

"The Ku Klux spirit has never manifested itself with force except when driven to it by the usurpation of power or attempt to usurp it. It has never questioned the right of any man of any race to live his life and conduct his own affairs as he sees fit so long as such conduct does not conflict with the established order of society.

"The Anglo-Saxon race, the only race that has ever proved its ability and supremacy and demonstrated its determination to progress under any and all conditions and handicaps, owes its high place in the world today to the fact that this spirit has been kept alive from the foundation of the world and has never lagged in any land or clime.

"And if the Anglo-Saxon race is to maintain its prestige, if it is to continue as the leader in the affairs of the world and to fulfill its sacred mission, it must maintain and jealously guard its purity, its power and its dignity, and while it should aid and encourage to the limit of its



Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

MOUNTED KLANSMEN ON PARADE

ability all men of whatever race or creed, it must forever maintain its own peculiar identity as the Anglo-Saxon race and preserve the integrity of its civilization, for the shores of Time hold the shipwreck of all the mongrel civilization of the past which is evidence that in keeping with the laws of creative justice Nature has decreed that mixed civilizations, together with governments of mixed races, are doomed to destruction and oblivion.

"From the past the voice of the great Lincoln must be heard:

"'There are physical differences between the races which would forever forbid them living together on terms of political and social equality.'

"The imperative call of higher justice to the real patriots of our nation is:

"In the name of our valiant and venerated dead and in due respect to their stainless memory, and in the interest of peace and security of all peoples now living and for the sake of all those yet to be, keep Anglo-Saxon American civilization, institutions, politics and society pure and thereby, since we have received this sacred heritage, transmit it with clean hands and pure hearts to generations yet unborn; thereby keeping faith with the mind, soul and purpose of our valiant sires and transmit our name into the future without dishonor and without disgrace.

"Let the solemn behest of higher duty be promptly and properly met in all the relationships of life and living without fault, without fail, without fear and without reproach, now and forevermore.

"The Ku Klux may be antagonized and forced to fight many battles, but perish, never! To destroy it is an impossibility, for it belongs in essence to the realms spiritual. It is unshaken by unjust criticisms, no power can thwart it in its onward conquest of right; it courts not the plaudits of the populace, nor is it swerved from its course by the libel of its foes. Attuned with Deity, functioning only for all humanity's good, misjudged by ignorance, misunderstood by many, slandered by prejudice, sweeping on under the divine leadership of duty, it never falters and will never fail.

"The spirit of the Ku Klux Klan still lives, and should live, a priceless heritage to be sacredly treasured by all those who love our country (regardless of section) and are proud of its sacred traditions. That this spirit may live always to warm the hearts of manly men, unify them by the force of a holy clannishness, to assuage the billowing tide of fraternal alienation that surges in human breasts, and inspire them to achieve the highest and noblest in the defense of our country,

our homes, humanity and each other, is the paramount ideal of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.

"The Klan, growing fast in numbers, influence, and power, and standing for a 100 per cent Americanism, devoted to the purest principles of patriotism, as well as to charity and fraternalism, has been attacked by forces represented by the Catholic Church, the negroes, and the Jews. We have no quarrel and are not opposed to these sects or races. They, however, are the forces behind the investigation by the House of Representatives Rules Committee. At this hearing nothing was developed that could possibly be construed concerning the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan as derogatory to our great organization. At the hearing we repeatedly urged the Rules Committee to order a full investigation by a special Congressional Committee. No action was taken by the committee, which is ample evidence that the investigation revealed nothing in the history, actions, and records of the Klan contrary to any accepted American standard of management for fraternal orders. We do not fear the light on any of our actions, and we welcome at all times the fullest possible investigation into our principles and our work for the Republic.

"It is true we bar from membership Jews, Catholics, and negroes. These classes also bar from membership in their organizations persons who are not Jews, Catholics, or negroes. We have that same right. We do not deny that we are strictly a Protestant and American fraternal order, which is destined to be the greatest brotherly and patriotic organization in the wide world."

14. THE KU KLUX KLAN OF TODAY

Associated with Colonel Simmons in the supreme office of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, at the Imperial Palace in Atlanta, are some of the most prominent citizens of Georgia. Next in authority to Colonel Simmons and the chief moving force of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan is Edward Young Clarke, of Atlanta.

Mr. Clarke is a young man of tremendous energy and large experience. He is Chief of Staff of the "Imperial Wizard" and his official title is "Imperial Kleagle." Mr. Clarke, in association with Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, has conducted for many years the Southern Publicity Association in Atlanta. This is an advertising and publicity company and is the greatest organization of its kind in the South.

Among other work of a public character that it has performed has been the conduct of various "drives" of a patriotic and humanitarian kind. It has conducted money raising campaigns at various times, at which it has been remarkably successful, for the Anti-Saloon League, the Salvation Army, and other national organizations. Whenever big organizations in the South desire to launch public movements of various kinds, so well known is the Southern Publicity Association, and so national in scope its reputation, that this organization is the first to be approached to take charge of such movements. Mr. Clarke is by profession a newspaper man, and is one of the most experienced and able publicity directors in the world. He comes of an excellent Southern family. His brother is managing editor of the Atlanta *Constitution,* probably the greatest and best known Southern newspaper. His business partner, Mrs. Elizabeth Tyler, is a remarkable woman. She is in active charge of the affairs of the Southern Publicity Association. At the age of 14 Mrs. Tyler was uneducated. She was left a widow with one child at the age of 15, and she then could barely read or write. In many ways she acquired a fair education, but her real education was obtained in large business affairs with which she has been connected.

Mrs. Tyler has no connection with the Ku Klux Klan, as women are not admitted to membership in that organization. The Southern Publicity Association was used as a valuable adjunct to the Department of Propagation of the Klan, and it is largely due to the ability and experience of Mr. Clarke and Mrs. Tyler in great publicity campaigns that the organization has grown so rapidly.

"Now," said Mr. Clarke, "I want to tell you what the Ku Klux

organization stands for. First and foremost, the real 100 per cent American needs to be baptized in the faith of our forefathers. In the strenuous rush of the big business of this nation we have forgotten the spirit which came from around that table where sat the real men who planned for this great nation. We say that a revival in spirit of real Americanism must start first in the hearts, minds, and souls of the 100 per cent Americans; and we are getting these men together and getting them into this organization. When we get them in, we propose to rebaptize them in the spirit of Americanism under the Stars and Stripes, and in the ideals of the men who founded this nation and upon whose ideals and plans it has grown so great.

"We are building a fellowship, a great social, compact body. We have drawn a tight line and propose to build a great reservoir of real Americanism.

"White supremacy—I am not afraid of that word—for I can go into a colored meeting anywhere and talk to them about it; it has been misused and misrepresented by the enemies of both races who for various reasons want to see trouble started; the enemies of real Americans who want to see America manacled, who want to see a polluted America instead of the America which has been handed down to us by our forefathers.

"The foreign element in America is attempting to get control of the reins of government.

"Statements that the Klan has fomented lynchings or race riots are lies. In not a single place where a Klan is organized and in full operation has a race riot or lynching occurred. The Klan stands for all that is great and good in our civilization, and it will exist as long as the United States endures.

"The organization now has approximately 1,500 chartered Klans, and the total membership of these Klans is more than 100,000 members actually initiated.* The organization has approximately one hundred thousand applications of persons desirous of becoming members, who are being investigated and whose applications will be acted upon within the next 60 days. Approximately 1,000 members per day are now being taken in by the organization. Since the attack of the New York newspapers, and the hearing before the Congressional Committee, applications for membership have increased 20 per cent above the normal average for six months previous to the beginning of the attacks on the Klan. In order not to take in undesirable persons, as a result of the interest and intensity of feeling aroused throughout

*January 1, 1922.

the country, the organization is using extra precautions regarding the new members and instead of holding an application three weeks previous to acting upon it, as has been the custom, instructions have gone out for all applications to be held 60 days previous to being acted upon, hoping through this method to eliminate from the applicants any person who might be applying for membership simply out of curiosity, or through a certain enthusiasm along religious or racial lines.

"The Klan is now actively operating in 45 states and has a King Kleagle, or state manager, in 41 states. The state managers have under them approximately six hundred Kleagles or organizers. The nation is divided into nine groups known as 'Domains,' with a Director General in these groups carrying the title of 'Grand Goblin.' The nine 'Grand Goblins' are located in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Atlanta, St. Louis, Houston, and Los Angeles. The organization is now seriously considering the elimination of the fee system, or commission basis in the Department of Propagation and contemplates placing the Grand Goblins, King Kleagles, and Kleagles on a straight salary basis.

"The Department of Propagation is a separate division of the work from the ritualistic activities of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The Department of Propagation is charged with the duty of organizing new Klans in places where Klans of the organization have not previously existed, and when these Klans are organized they are turned over to the Invisible Empire to be chartered. After being chartered the Department of Propagation has no further interest in or connection with that particular Klan. New Klans are chartered on the numerical basis of approximately one-third of the possible total membership of the Klan in any local community, but the average number chartered within the past six months has been approximately on a basis of one-fourth the approximate final total membership in any one community.

"After being chartered the local Klan retains one-half of the fee or klectokon, or donation paid by members on entering the organization, and the other half is sent to the Imperial Palace, and goes into the treasury of the organization for the general use of the organization in its work.

"The principles of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, as announced in all the publications and rituals of the organization, are as follows:

"The purpose of the modern Ku Klux Klan is to inculcate the sacred principles and noble ideals of chivalry, the development of character, the protection of the home and the chastity of womanhood, the exemplification of a pure and practical patriotism toward our glorious

country, the preservation of American ideals and institutions, and the maintenance of white supremacy.

"No man is admitted to the fellowship of the Invisible Empire of today who hasn't manhood enough to assume a real oath to Right and Duty with serious purpose to keep the same inviolate. No man is admitted to fellowship who will not, or who cannot swear an unqualified allegiance to the Government of the United States of America, its flag, its Constitution and its institutions.

"Only native-born white American citizens, who believe in the tenets of the Christian religion, and who owe no allegiance of any degree or nature to any foreign government or institution, religious or political, or to any sect, people, or persons, are eligible for membership.

"While its name would indicate it is purely a Southern organization such is not the case. It is non-sectional, non-political, and non-sectarian. It is a purely patriotic, fraternal organization. In fact, the organization, in the six years of its existence, already has numbered among its membership many men, some of them nationally known, who have never lived in the South. As proof of its non-political attitude men prominent in both Democratic and Republican parties, including members of Congress, are leaders in the organization. Its compelling appeal to citizens of all sections lies in the fact that it is strictly an institution of, by, and for white citizens of the United States, pledged to fundamental American ideals and institutions.

"While membership in the Ku Klux Klan is open only to white American citizens the organization wages war on no individual or organization regardless of race, color, or creed. It takes no part as an organization in any political or religious controversy, and it concedes the right of every man to think, vote, and worship God as he pleases.

"Because certain individuals at various times have committed acts of violence under cover of darkness, and shielded by masks and robes resembling the official regalia of the Ku Klux Klan, they have been classed as members of this organization. The Ku Klux Klan is a strictly law-abiding organization and every member is sworn to uphold the law at all times, and to assist officers of the law in preserving peace and order whenever the occasion may arise. Any member violating this oath would be banished forever from the organization. In other words, it is a practical fraternal order pledged to wholesome service, and not merely a social association.

"Among the principles for which this organization stands, in addition to those already enumerated, are: Suppression of graft by public

officeholders; preventing unwarranted strikes by foreign agitators; preventing the causes of mob violence and lynchings; sensible and patriotic immigration laws; sovereignty of state rights under the Constitution; separation of Church and State, freedom of speech and press, a freedom of such that does not strike at or imperil our Government or the cherished institutions of our people.

"If there be any white American citizen who owes allegiance to any flag but the Star Spangled Banner, and who cannot subscribe to and support these principles, let him forever hold his peace. He is basely unworthy of the great Flag and its Government that guarantees to him life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That person who actively opposes these great principles is a dangerous ingredient in the body politic of our country, and an enemy to the weal of our national commonwealth.

"The Ku Klux Klan of today rides on, not upon the backs of faithful steeds but in the mind, heart, and soul of every true white American citizen who loves our great country and who glories in the name America, and who is honest enough as a grateful son to perpetually memorialize the heroism of our fathers and transmit the boon of our priceless heritage untarnished, uncorrupted, and unstained to the generations who follow us, that the lustre of our age may increase in splendor. For he who forgets the heroes of the past is basely unworthy of the blessings of the present, and he should be forgotten by posterity."

H. C. Montgomery, "Imperial Treasurer" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is one of Atlanta's prominent business men. He owns a large optical store in Atlanta, is a graduate of the Northern School of Optometry in Chicago, and has followed his profession for 22 years.

He is a native of Kentucky, but has lived in Atlanta for many years, where he has a reputation for integrity and fair business dealing. He has been a steward in the Methodist Church for some years, and is a member of Atlanta Commandery No. 9, Knights Templar. He has been associated with the Klan since its foundation in 1915.

Though owning a large and prosperous business in Atlanta Mr. Montgomery devotes practically all his time to the affairs of the Klan.

"The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are bound together in a great law-abiding, patriotic American organization," said Mr. Montgomery. "I shall continue my connection with it as long as I am of use to it."

The "Imperial Klonsel," or supreme attorney, is Paul S. Etheridge. He is a native of Greensboro, Georgia; was educated at Mercer Uni-

versity. He began the practice of law in Atlanta and is recognized as one of the leading lawyers of the Atlanta Bar. He is a deacon in the Baptist Church. In 1918 he was elected a member of the Board of Commissioners of Roads and Revenues in Fulton County, Georgia, in which Atlanta is located, and is now chairman of that board. No citizen of Atlanta has a higher standing in the public estimation than Mr. Etheridge.

"The Ku Klux Klan," said Mr. Etheridge, "is a righteous and great organization, standing for all of that which is best in our civilization; it stands for righteousness and the right in everything and abhors lawlessness and crime."

Louis David Wade, "Imperial Secretary," is a native of Oswego, New York. He moved to Atlanta when fifteen years old and for many years was connected with the Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Company, with which corporation he had a fine record. Later he was superintendent of cotton mills at Cedartown, Georgia; Bowling Green, North Carolina; and Greenville, North Carolina. For some time he was superintendent of the municipal electric light plant at Greenville, North Carolina. He is a member of the Methodist Church, and belongs to a number of secret orders. Mr. Wade bears an excellent reputation in Atlanta.

"The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan," said Mr. Wade, "are animated with good purpose. The organization is founded upon right principles. Its business affairs are conducted with honest, straightforward dealings; it is destined to be the greatest order of patriotic Americans in this country, and it will become, in time, the greatest fraternal organization in the whole world. I am proud to be an officer in such an organization."

F. L. Savage, "Grand Goblin," who is head of the Department of Investigation of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, is a native of Boston, Massachusetts. He is one of the most experienced and capable detectives in the United States. For thirteen years he was head of the Savage Detective Agency, in New York City. He served on transports during the Spanish-American War, and during the World War was connected with the Railroad Administration.

In 1921 Mr. Savage was brought from New York to Atlanta, to head the Investigation Department of the Klan. He has organized one of the most active departments of the Klan. The scope of the Investigation Department is large and important.

"Our biggest problem," said Mr. Savage, "is those who commit crimes of various kinds in widely separated sections, and charge them

to the Klan. Cowardly acts are committed, laws violated, and often the scoundrels who perpetrate these acts cover them with the name of the Klan. It is part of our work to refute these charges and to investigate practices of this nature. For instance, if a Klan is charged with tarring, feathering, and whipping a victim anywhere, we immediately dispatch investigators to the scene of the crime, and if we find that even one member of a local Klan has been guilty of such outrages, summary action is taken. The Imperial Palace immediately cancels the charter of that whole Klan, and we do everything in our power to aid the prosecuting attorney and the officers of justice to arrest the guilty and bring them to trial.

"Our organization abhors every unlawful action of every kind, but occasionally a man of bad intentions secures membership in the Klan, and it is a few of these persons who have caused on occasions charges against the Klan. Our investigations have shown that on many occasions outrages and crimes of many kinds perpetrated in the South and North, and charged to the Klan or Klansmen, were done by persons who had no connection whatever with the Klan.

"The Knights of the Ku Klux Klan are a law-abiding organization, and they are utterly opposed to any violation of the law at any time. We shall never tolerate in our membership any person who violates any law.

"Already we have assisted in bringing to justice persons who have impersonated Klansmen and perpetrated crimes of various kinds. Our Investigation Department reaches into every state."

15. VARIED ACTIVITIES OF THE KLAN

Part of the work of the Ku Klux Klan is charitable. It also interests itself in civic welfare work of many kinds. For instance, September 24, 1920, the Chamber of Commerce of Yoakum, Texas, accepted an offer of the Yoakum Klan to loan $30,000 to the city for erection and equipment of a public library. It was stipulated in the loan by the Klan that six Holy Bibles must be on file in the library, and the Stars and Stripes must fly at all times over the building.

On September 17* in Richmond, Virginia, a police officer was killed by a desperado. The Richmond Klan sent $100 to the widow.

Charleston, West Virginia, Klansmen on August 27 contributed $275 toward the support of the Old Ladies' Home in Kanawha County.

Last March the Charlottesville, Virginia, Klan gave $1,000 to the University of Virginia Centennial Endowment Fund.

November 24, the Henderson, Texas, Klan gave $50 to two negroes in needy circumstances.

October 1, the Atlanta Klan contributed $100 to help pay expenses of Confederate veterans from Atlanta to Houston, Texas, at the annual reunion of the United Confederate Veterans.

November 23, the Greenville, Texas, Klan contributed $1,000 toward rebuilding Wesley College at that place, destroyed by fire.

On Christmas Day, 1921, the Atlanta Ku Klux Klan contributed $125 to the Christmas fund for former slaves.

November 25 the Memphis, Tennessee, Klan gave $100 to the Red Cross.

On November 7, the Goliad, Texas, Klan contributed $50 to a citizen of that town whose home and personal effects had been destroyed by fire.

On June 22 last the San Antonio, Texas, Klan gave $100 to the local Orphan's Home.

On July 6, the Wharton, Texas, Klan contributed $50 to a widow in destitute circumstances.

On July 9, the Cureo, Texas, Klan gave County Judge Boal $60 to help a man afflicted with tuberculosis.

November 21, the Austin, Texas, Klan gave $100 to the Salvation Army.

On July 20, the Dallas, Texas, Klan sent $100 to the Orphans' Home.

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*The following dates are all in 1920 or 1921.

The Atlanta Klan has recently contributed $1,000 to the Agnes Scott Girls' School in that city.

November 29 the Washington, D. C., Klan gave $100 to the Salvation Army.

More than $15,000 has been loaned by the Atlanta Klan to small tradesmen who need capital in their business. This money is supplied without interest. In many other cities where there are large Klans many thousands of dollars are loaned to small tradesmen.

It is one of the cardinal principles of the Klan to assist each other in all business and social affairs, and a klansman will always trade with other Klansmen whenever possible. This same policy is often pursued, as is well known, by other fraternal organizations.

The Klans everywhere are opposed to lawlessness and disorder. As organizations they are always ready to assist local civil officers with money or advice. For instance, on May 19, the South Jacksonville, Florida, Klan sent a communication to Mayor William Beloit to the effect that they stood back of him in his efforts to preserve law and order in that community. There had recently been considerable disorder in South Jacksonville, and criminals of various kinds had been giving the authorities much trouble.

Last January at Winter Garden, Florida, there was a race riot. The local Klansmen helped to suppress the riot, and members of that Klan stood guard for three days and three nights, protecting lives and property in the negro quarters.

On February 25, 1921, D. J. Gantt, Federal Supervising Prohibition Agent for the Southern States, stated in writing:

"I feel that I have the support of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan in supporting my part of the law—the prohibition part."

J. L. Couch, Mayor of Columbus, Georgia, in an open statement on February 5, 1921, highly praised the Columbus Klan. He said:

"Seventeen members of the Klan assisted the police department during an epidemic of burglaries and their services were appreciated by the police and myself. An organization like the Ku Klux Klan is a blessing to any community."

In Atlanta a mob formed in the streets to storm the jail and lynch a negro charged with an atrocious crime. Colonel Simmons happened to be passing and sent members of the Klan among the mob to persuade them to disband, which was done. Later when the negro was carried from the jail to the courthouse to be tried Klansmen stationed along the way between the two buildings prevented any act of violence against the accused.

The Little Rock, Ark., chief of police received November 25, $1,000 from the Klan at that place, as a reward for the arrest and conviction of any person attacking a woman. Many of the local Klans have adopted the motto: "Not for self but for others."

These are only a few instances, of which there are many hundreds on file in the Imperial Palace in Atlanta, of the charitable actions of the Klans and their policies in helping to preserve law and order.

As for charges against the Klan that it is hostile to the Catholics, Jews, and the negroes, Colonel Simmons gave the writer the following positive statement:

"We antagonize no man's religion. I have heard of only one case where a Kleagle circulated anti-Catholic propaganda and he was instantly discharged.

"We are not anti-Jewish; any Jew who can subscribe to the tenets of the Christian Religion can get in.

"We are not anti-negro. Scores of other fraternal organizations do not admit negroes. We are not anti-foreign born, we merely require that members shall be native born Americans."

Colonel Simmons stated the prereqisites to membership in the Invisible Empire as follows:

"This Order is founded upon dependable character. It is not an ultra-exclusive institution, but its membership is composed of 'picked men.'

"No man is wanted in the Order who has not manhood enough to assume a real oath with serious purpose of keeping the same inviolate.

"No man is wanted in this Order who will not or cannot swear an unqualified allegiance to the Government of the United States of America, its flag and its Constitution.

"No man is wanted in this Order who does not esteem the Government of the United States above any other government, civil, political, or ecclesiastical, in the whole world.

"No man is wanted in this Order who cannot practice fraternity toward each other and every one of his oath-bound associates.

"Only native-born Americans who believe in the tenets of the Christian religion and who owe no allegiance of any degree or nature to any foreign government, nation, institution, sect, people or person, are eligible."

In Atlanta, the Klan's headquarters, practically the entire population believes in the Klan and one of the largest local Klans in the Invisible Empire is located in this city, numbering many thousand members, including a large number of the most prominent citizens.

Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

MAIN BUILDING OF LANIER UNIVERSITY

An Educational Institution Owned by the Ku Klux Klan. The Name Has Recently Been Changed to The University of America

Practically the entire citizenship is back of it, and this fact alone, in its home city, seems evidence that the Klan must be a good and reputable organization.

An illustration of how the Klan is regarded in Atlanta is shown by a sermon delivered by Dr. Caleb A. Ridley, Pastor of the Central Baptist Church, one of the largest churches in Atlanta, in which the minister took occasion to criticize newspapers that had attacked the Klan, and made from the pulpit a vigorous defense of the organization. Dr. Ridley is one of the most prominent ministers in the South.

While the Invisible Empire publishes no newspaper and has no propaganda or publicity department, it has use of the columns of the *Searchlight,* a weekly newspaper printed in Atlanta, which is the official paper of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics for Georgia. The editor of this paper is J. O. Wood, and the managing editor is Howard B. Weaver. It has a very large circulation throughout Georgia and elsewhere, and is at all times a vigorous defender of the Klan, though having no official connection with the "Invisible Empire." Georgia daily newspapers are favorable to the Klan and say so.

Parades of the Klan in their white regalia are always a big event in Atlanta. The first public appearance of the Klan on a large scale in Atlanta was during the Confederate Veterans' Reunion in 1919. The Ku Kluxers paraded clad in their helmets, masks, and long, flowing white robes, and created a stir along the line of march. They followed the veterans in the parade.

On January 16, 1920, Atlanta prohibitionists had a great bonfire in the center of the city, to celebrate the "dry amendment," which marked the death of John Barleycorn. The Klan on this occasion appeared again in uniform to emphasize the fact that it stands at all times for law and order, and for fair and impartial enforcement of all laws, not only of the prohibition law, but of all statutes.

Colonel Simmons summed up the central idea of the Ku Klux Klan, by saying:

"The spirit of the Ku Klux Klan still lives, and should live a priceless heritage to be sacredly treasured by all those who love their country, regardless of section, and are proud of its sacred traditions. That this spirit may live always to warm the hearts of manly men, unify them by the spirit of holy klannishness, and inspire them to highest ideals and noblest in the defense of our country, our homes, each other, and humanity, is the paramount ideal of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan."

16. ENEMIES BEGIN ATTACKS ON THE KLAN

September, 1921, largely because of its intense activities and the enemies it had made among certain classes the Klan began to be attacked in a few newspapers. The attack started with public statements, widely carried by the press services, by certain Kleagles, who had become disgruntled with their positions or who had otherwise been influenced to abandon their work and assail the organization.

The New York *World* began a "crusade" against the Klan and published a series of newspaper articles attacking the Klan and purporting to expose its secrets and describe its activities. The principal fact upon which the *World* based its attacks was the amount of money collected by the Klan, and its alleged participation in tarring and feathering cases which were charged against the Klan and which were afterward proven to have been perpetrated by individual Klansmen or by persons not having any connection with the organization.

Whether or not the fact that the *World* is principally owned by Mr. Pulitzer, a Jew, had anything to do with the crusade, is not known, but the fact that Jews, as a rule, are ineligible to membership in the Klan should be taken into consideration in a survey of this attack.

Another fact connected with the *World's* crusade that may bear on the situation is, that after the *World* began to publish the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan articles its daily circulation increased approximately 100,000, and the Sunday circulation to 125,000 copies, according to a statement published by the *World* in a New York trade journal.

It is a fact known by all newspaper publishers that the New York *World* has always been noted for "crusades" of various kinds, and has been the leading propaganda newspaper, advocating and opposing various things, for many years in New York City.

The New York *World* syndicated its Knights of the Ku Klux Klan articles and sold them to a considerable number of daily papers throughout the country for which, of course, it was paid. So from a money standpoint the attacks on the Klan were profitable to the *World*, aside from any questionable prestige it may have secured from the publication.

In the whole *World* series there is hardly a fact borne out by reliable testimony or evidence that the Klan had been guilty of any practice or any action contrary to the management of an ordinary fraternal organization. Those who read the *World* articles will agree

that while they were entertainingly written, there was a scarcity of facts in the stories.

When it became known in New York that the *World* had gained more than 100,000 circulation because of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan stories, and circulation in New York means advertising, and advertising means money, the New York *American* launched a similar attack on the "Invisible Empire," and used as its principal medium in its series of stories a former official of the Klan in New York, C. Anderson Wright, who had left the organization. The Hearst stories were about on a par with the *World* articles, containing a few facts, but a large amount of accusation and denunciation. The Hearst stories were printed in all the Hearst papers throughout the United States.

Publication by the *World* syndicate and in the Hearst string of newspapers, of course, secured very wide publicity for the attacks throughout the country, and while both series were being published Congress took notice of the matter, and after considerable private discussion among the members of the House a Congressional attack was launched on the Klan.

Resolutions were introduced calling on the House Rules Committee to hold a preliminary investigation to decide whether or not a special congressional committee should make an investigation of the "Invisible Empire." These resolutions, practically similar in purpose, were introduced by Representative Peter F. Tague, of Boston, Massachusetts; Representative Leonidas C. Dyer, of St. Louis, Missouri; and Representative Thomas J. Ryan, of New York City.

Representative James A. Gallivan, Democrat, of South Boston, later introduced a resolution calling for a congressional committee to investigate and determine whether any members of Congress belonged to the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. This resolution was not taken seriously, for it was evident to any Washington newspaperman that Congress would never pass such a resolution.

Some observers professed to see considerable significance in the resolutions of Messrs. Tague and Ryan, as Mr. Ryan is a Catholic and a Knight of Columbus, and Mr. Tague is also a Catholic. Representative Dyer is a Protestant, but has in his constituency in St. Louis, Missouri, a large number of negro voters.

Messrs. Dyer and Ryan are Republicans, but Mr. Tague is a Democrat. Mr. Tague lives in Boston, which has a large Catholic and foreign-born population. Mr. Ryan's home is in New York City, which possesses a very large Jewish, negro, and foreign-born population.

While few open comments were made concerning these facts during the investigation by the House Rules Committee, though Colonel Simmons called attention to it, the inference seemed to be plain that the House members who had introduced the resolutions to investigate the Klan were prompted by personal and religious feelings, and it was evident to all that by their resolutions they had secured considerable political advantage in their congressional districts.

Representative William D. Upshaw, of Georgia, soon after the Ryan, Tague and Dyer resolutions were launched, introduced a resolution calling upon Congress to investigate all secret societies in the United States. This created considerable stir throughout the country and further complicated the already tangled situation.

It was an open secret that several Southern congressmen had prepared resolutions demanding that Congress investigate the Knights of Columbus, and the various negro organizations throughout the country, particularly the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, headquarters in Boston. These congressmen had their resolutions ready, but were prevailed upon not to introduce the resolutions until it was seen what action the Rules Committee would take toward appointing a special congressional committee to probe the affairs of the "Invisible Empire." It was well known, however, that the Southern Democrats generally, in the House and Senate, had determined, if there was to be a special congressional investigation of the Ku Klux Klan, the House Rules Committee investigation being merely a preliminary proceeding as to whether or not a special congressional committee should investigate the Klan, to force a special congressional investigation of the Knights of Columbus and all negro organizations.

The result would have been a religious controversy in Congress that might have led to very serious consequences, and which undoubtedly would have split the United States into hostile factions. In view of all the circumstances it is well that the Southern congressmen did not introduce their resolutions.

Finally the Rules Committee decided to hold the preliminary investigation to decide whether or not a special congressional committee should investigate the Klan.

The House Rules Committee included: Philip P. Campbell, Kansas; Bertrand H. Snell, New York; William A. Rodenberg, Illinois; Simeon D. Fess, Ohio; Aaron S. Kreider, Pennsylvania; Porter H. Dale, Vermont; Royal C. Johnson, South Dakota; and Thomas D. Schall, Minnesota, all Republicans. Edward W. Pou, North Caro-

lina; Finis J. Garrett, Tennessee; James C. Cantrill, Kentucky; and Daniel J. Riordan, New York, were the Democratic members.

Some of the members of the committee did not appear at the hearing. The chairman, Mr. Campbell, and Representative Rodenberg, of Illinois, showed by their attitude and questions of the witnesses that they desired an investigation, and that they were, if not distinctly hostile, at least unfavorable to the "Invisible Empire." Other members occupied a noncommittal and fair attitude. Among the Democrats Representative Pou and Representative Garrett indicated by their questions and their attitude during the whole hearing that they were not only anxious to bring out all the facts concerning the Ku Klux Klan, but that they were in a favorable frame of mind toward the organization. So far as known, none of the members of the House Rules Committee were members of the "Invisible Empire."

Mr. Campbell is a Protestant and so are Mr. Pou and Mr. Garrett. Mr. Rodenberg is also a Protestant.

The investigation of the House Rules Committee continued for several days, beginning on October 11.

Mr. Tague appeared and urged that the committee vote for a congressional investigation.

Mr. Dyer was the next witness and urged a favorable report on his resolution, as did Mr. Ryan.

Among the witnesses were Roland Thomas, member of the editorial staff of the *New York World,* who had charge, for the *World,* of the investigation of the Ku Klux Klan. Thomas said he had devoted July, August, and September to the investigation. He made this significant admission on the stand: "A great deal of what comes to it (referring to the *World*) has to come by rumor. I cannot pretend to go thoroughly to the bottom (referring to the investigation), for the very fact I have spoken of, that a newspaper has no power of subpoena or search."

The star witness, however, was C. Anderson Wright, formerly a member of the New York Klan with title of "King Kleagle," that is, he was in charge of the whole State of New York as manager. Wright's testimony, which occupied several of the hearings, was mainly devoted to statements regarding the financial affairs of the Klan and its business matters. Nothing was brought out by the former "King Kleagle" which could be considered as derogatory to the Klan; the principal burden of his testimony was that the Klan had collected enormous sums of money. It was shown that the total revenues of the Klan since it had been organized six years ago had been approxi-

mately $1,250,000. A financial statement as to how this money had been spent was filed with the committee by Colonel Simmons, and there was nothing in the report which showed any misuse of funds. The money had been spent to pay organizers' commissions, rentals, printing, postage, and other usual expenses of a large fraternal organization.

17. MANY OTHER WITNESSES BEFORE COMMITTEE

O. K. Williamson was the next witness. He is a postoffice inspector who had made an investigation of the Klan. Mr. Williamson's testimony dealt largely with the purchase of the property owned by the Klan in Atlanta, and a home costing $25,000 in that city which had been purchased by members of the Klan and presented to Colonel Simmons.

Mr. Williamson also went thoroughly into the distribution of the funds donated by the Klan membership and largely covered the same ground as C. Anderson Wright.

Representative Gallivan, during the testimony by Mr. Williamson, asked the Rules Committee to favorably report his resolution to discover what members of Congress belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. It may authoritatively be stated that a large number of congressmen are members of the "Invisible Empire," just as many of them belong to the Masons, Elks, Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Knights of Columbus, and other large fraternal organizations.

During the whole hearing William J. Burns, Chief of the Bureau of the Investigation, Department of Justice, and Assistant United States Attorney General Crimm, with their assistants, occupied seats near the witness stand and closely observed everything. Mr. Crimm had been delegated by the Department of Justice to investigate the "Invisible Empire," and Mr. Burns had been for some time actively engaged in investigating the organization.

Paul S. Etheridge, of Atlanta, Georgia, the Supreme Attorney for the Ku Klux Klan, was an important witness. He made out a strong case for the Klan and all its activities.

Representative William D. Upshaw, of Georgia, was also on the stand and paid a glowing tribute to the character and personal record of Colonel Simmons. He declared: "That as a sturdy and inspiring personality, as an heroic veteran of the Spanish-American War, and a Knight Templar, as a consecrated Christian, as a member of a dozen well-known fraternal organizations and a God-fearing citizen, Colonel Simmons is as incapable of an unworthy or unpatriotic motive, word or deed, as the chairman of the committee, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, or the President of the United States."

Mr. Upshaw then introduced Colonel Simmons to the committee. Colonel Simmons' testimony required several sessions, and he explained

everything about the Ku Klux Klan from the time that he had founded the organization until the present. Nothing in his testimony, and he was thoroughly cross-questioned by members of the committee, brought out any fact concerning the Klan which could be construed as damaging to that organization. The organization and operation of the "Invisible Empire" were gone into by Colonel Simmons in the minutest detail, and he filed with the committee a complete financial statement of the Klan, and copies of all its rituals, documents, records, and papers.

Colonel Simmons asked Chairman Campbell that his testimony be taken under oath, but this was declined.

The Imperial Wizard declared that the fight conducted against the Klan was similar to the attacks years ago on the Masons; as the same charges were made against them and the same effort to destroy them was made as has been made against the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, this fight on the Masons resulting in the formation of a political anti-Masonic party at that time.

He denounced the *World* and declared that if that paper, which is the chief Democratic organ in New York, could succeed in forcing a Republican Congress to destroy a great American fraternal organization, it would react against the Republicans in the next elections, as the Ku Klux Klan, with its hundreds of thousands of friends at the polls three years hence, would forget party lines and vote the Democratic ticket.

He declared that the Hearst papers had attacked the Klan purely from the desire to obtain more circulation.

Colonel Simmons created a very favorable impression on the committee, and he repeatedly declared in his testimony that the Klan courted the fullest investigation, and that he and his assistants desired the Rules Committee to report a resolution providing for a special congressional investigation, that nothing had been developed in corroboration of the charges of the *World* and the Hearst papers except one fact—that the Klan had collected large sums of money and distributed the same as all other large fraternal organizations do. The whole testimony did not develop any evidence where the Klan as a Klan had perpetrated any of the outrages charged against it in some of the Southern States.

The last day of the hearing, when Colonel Simmons had completed his testimony, the Associated Press story began with the following sentence: "The Ku Klux Klan investigation blew up today."

It was plain to unprejudiced observers that the investigation

conducted by the House Rules Committee had resulted in a vindication of the Ku Klux Klan, and a repudiation of the charges made by the New York *World* and the Hearst papers. In fact, the *World* and Hearst attacks on the Klan really resulted in nothing, except giving the Klan a nation-wide publicity which has been extraordinarily valuable to it in getting its name and principles before the American public, and an advertising which could not have been purchased for many millions of dollars. The Klan greatly profited by the newspaper attacks on it and the congressional investigation because it is now, as a result of these attacks and the investigation, receiving daily thousands of applications for membership from all sections of the United States, and it seems probable that within a short time it will number more than one million members, all sworn to loyalty to the Flag, the Constitution, the Republic, and advocating Americanism, patriotism, and Anglo-Saxon supremacy.

18. THE SYMBOL AND THE SLOGAN OF THE KLAN

The symbol of a well-known life insurance company is that famous rock which towers above the entrance of the Mediterranean Sea. Fortified by Great Britain, it commands the gates to the Atlantic, and helps mightily to make England mistress of the seas. "Impregnable as Gibraltar" is a slogan denoting faith in self and uttering defiance to all efforts, however gigantic, to pull down the defenses of a man or the fortifications of an institution.

In Georgia, the Imperial State of the South, where the Ku Klux Klan was reborn, we have a rock which will become as famous to American patriots as Gibraltar. Rising from an almost level plain, as if brooking no precipitous rival, defying the storms of centuries, stands "Stone Mountain," near Atlanta. It is a solid block of gray granite, seventeen hundred and eighty feet high, several miles in circumference at its base, sloping on one side, precipitous on the other. On the sheer front of the precipice a famous sculptor, inspired by patriotic women of the South, will carve out of the rock, running for hundreds of feet along its face, heroic scenes, figures and battles of the war between the States, when brothers fought for what they thought was right. On this gigantic canvas of imperishable granite we shall see the Blue and the Gray contending in the mighty shock of battle at Chancellorsville and Atlanta, Chickamauga and Gettysburg; we shall see their leaders—Grant and Lee, Gordon and Sheridan, and many others of lesser fame, and Lincoln the Great, and Davis, leader of the ill-starred Confederacy; and Appomattox where the fratricidal strife ended, and the Stars and Bars was folded in undying memories and the Stars and Stripes became once more the unsullied flag of a reunited nation, "one and inseparable, now and forever."

These sculptures on Stone Mountain will be the greatest in the world—greater than the Sphinx whose stony lips have kept silence for centuries along the banks of the Nile, where the Pharaohs forced their helpless subjects to build marvels of architecture, where the lotus bloomed in languorous beauty, and where one or more of the Wise Men, guided by the marvelous Star, rode to find and worship the world's Redeemer lying a helpless babe in the manger at Bethlehem. These pictured battles and charging warriors on the precipice of Stone Mountain will become more famous than the Lion of Lu-

Photograph by J. A. Murdoch, Atlanta, Ga.

HOME OF COL. WILLIAM JOSEPH SIMMONS

Imperial Wizard, in Atlanta, Ga. This home was given to him by the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan

cerne carved by Thorwaldsen on the face of an alpine cliff as a memorial to the Swiss Guard who fell in the line of duty.

Only sixteen miles from Atlanta, Stone Mountain, because of its solitary and majestic grandeur, will become more and more an object of national if not international interest. Not only geologists and other scientists will visit this granite monolith, but also artists and other lovers of scenic beauty and majesty. Not only those of the South will come, but also thousands of tourists from colder regions and foreign lands will visit the homes and haunts of Dixie and learn of the traditions, the chivalry, and the abounding hospitality of the South.

Why has the Ku Klux Klan chosen Stone Mountain as its symbol? Because its beauty, its majesty, its impregnability typified the character, the purposes and the perpetuity of the order. What better place could be found for the reincarnation of the Ku Klux Klan than this giant granite monument of Nature? To its summit, during a stormy night in 1915, while blustering winds blew, Col. William J. Simmons, who had caught the vision of the great Order, led thirty-four leading citizens of Atlanta. They were ministers, lawyers, physicians, judges, merchants, teachers, laborers—a democratic assembly where all were equal. These thirty-four men were to constitute the solid nucleus around whom should gather good and true men from every quarter of America, men who, like Sir Philip Sidney, were cavaliers without fear and without reproach. The fiery Cross blazed as a gonfalon, striking with wonder the inhabitants of the villages clustered about the base of the mountain. Its gleaming arms scintillated as if they were the resounding voice of a reborn Stentor announcing to all the world faith in American institutions, and the hope that white supremacy and true liberty should prevail from the stormy Atlantic to the golden shores of California lapped by the rolling Pacific; from New England's rockbound coast to the orange flowers and magnolia blooms of the land where Ponce de Leon sought the fountain of perpetual youth; from the Great Lakes separating us from our peaceful neighbor, Canada, to the illimitable plains of Texas and the Rio Grande bordering the land of the Montezumas and the Aztecs shrouded in the mists of history.

Colonel Simmons, the valiant leader of that band of forward-looking patriots, lifted his tall form on the highest peak of the mountain. The air seemed vibrant with voices out of the heroic past, telling of the deeds of the fathers, uttering encouragement for the present, making prognostications for the future. In earnest and heart-compelling words Colonel Simmons told his thirty-four listeners

that he had been called to the work of reviving the Ku Klux Klan, and had not been disobedient to the vision. He said that the Klan must be made a fraternal order larger and grander than its prototype, destined, as he hoped, to spread throughout the country until it had members in every state and section. No one should be allowed to become a Klansman unless his character was good, his motives altruistic, his purposes lofty, his honor pledged to law and order, to one hundred per cent Americanism, to nation-wide and, finally, world-wide supremacy of the Anglo-Saxon race. He asserted his apprehension that an inevitable conflict between the white race on the one side and the yellow and black races on the other was indicated by the present international unrest. This conflict would be Armageddon, unless the Anglo-Saxon, in unity with the Latin and Teutonic nations, should take the leadership of the world and show to all that it had and would hold the world mastery forever.

Colonel Simmons then gave to the thirty-four present the opportunity of becoming charter members of the new movement. In the war for Texan independence, the Alamo at San Antonio, with less than two hundred defenders, was besieged by Santa Ana leading an army of four thousand Mexicans. Colonel Travis mustered his men in the court of the old stone church, turned into a fort, and told them that, if they closed the gates before the siege began, all would die; but before the gates were closed, there was a chance to escape, and anyone might take that chance without shame, as life was dear to all. Then, drawing a line on the floor with the point of his sword, Travis said: "Each must decide for himself. Let him who is willing to die for Texas independence, cross over the line!" Every man crossed, and every man died, but Texas was free! On the monument erected to their valor in the Capitol park at Austin, is the sentence: "Thermopylae had her messenger of defeat; the Alamo had none!" The heroism of Travis and his men was repaid when General Houston swept Santa Ana and his army to destruction at the battle of San Jacinto.

So, every one who heard Colonel Simmons' call to patriotic service in a time of peace, knelt on the rocky slope of Stone Mountain, under the silent, solemn stars, and took the oath of consecration to the ideals, purposes and work of the Ku Klux Klan.

From this start, awe-inspiring yet humble, the Ku Klux Klan has had a phenomenal growth. It has been fought from without and within; investigated by a congressional committee and by judicial action; charged with crimes and misdemeanors by wicked men who claimed membership to cover their nefarious deeds; its leading officials

traduced and slandered. Yet it has maintained a loyal, successful and enthusiastic organization to this good day.

What of its future? This is most promising. A storm may be unpleasant and even terrifying, but it clears the atmosphere. A lightning bolt may shake the earth, but its fierce flame consumes nephitic vapors that might cause contagion and death. So, when the Ku Klux Klan has beaten down all attacks from without; when it has purged itself from disloyal traitors from within; then, like a giant refreshed by sleep, it will gird itself for the struggle and run with patience and increasing success its appointed race.

The Anglo-Saxon is the typeman of history. To him must yield the self-centered Hebrew, the cultured Greek, the virile Roman, the mystic Oriental. The psalmist must have had him in mind by poetic imagination when he struck his sounding harp and sang: "O Lord: thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor. Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands; thou hast put all things under his feet." The Ku Klux Klan desires that its ruling members shall be of this all-conquering blood. This does not mean prohibition against other white bloods. The Constitution of the United States ordains that no man shall be President of this great Republic unless he was born in America. This is no reflection on Lloyd George, or Poincare, or Albert of Belgium. It is simply the preference and mandate of our republic. A man may come to America from other lands who may be a greater man than the President; but we have decided, and we have the right to decide, that our President shall be American born. So, the Ku Klux Klan was planned for the white American. But, as the United States welcomes to its hospitable shores all who will become Americans by loyal adoption and by swearing allegiance to the Constitution, so the Ku Klux Klan welcomes into membership any and all who are white Americans, speaking one language, glad to live under the aegis of the Constitution, and thrilled when they see the Stars and Stripes wave its brilliant folds in the breezes of freedom that fan the cheeks of all true patriots irrespective of former nationality or political condition.

In brief, the Ku Klux Klan desires to be, hopes to be, plans to be and will be a great, influential, helpful, patriotic, American fraternal order, taking its allotted place with similar secret brotherhoods, and with them working out our Christian civilization, adding to the gifts and graces, the prosperity and happiness of mankind, and standing for the noble, the true and the good, for the majesty of law, for the advancement of the human race.

[THE END]

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